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Translation

Previously Unpublished Kosygin Speeches

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21 November 1979

PREVIOUSLY UNPUBLISHED KOSYGIN SPEECHES

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Eight speeches and one article by A. N. Kosygin, publishers' remarks, and original tables of contents from the two-volume collection compiled by A. G. Karpov and B. T. Batsanov, Politizdat Publishers, 100,000 copies. Volume 1 was assembled on 27 Dec 78 and signed to press on 1 Feb 79 and Volume 2 was assembled on 29 Jan 79 and signed to press on 8 Feb 79

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

[Following are eight speeches and one article by A. N. Kosygin, remarks of the publishers, and the tables of contents from the two-volume collection. The speeches and article had not previously appeared in the Soviet press or had appeared only in shortened form.

The two volumes were compiled by A. G. Karpov and B. T. Batsanov and published in Moscow by POLITIZDAT in 100,000 copies. They were assembled on 27 December 1978 and 29 January 1979 and signed to press on 1 February 1979 and 8 February 1979, respectively.

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FROM THE PUBLISHER

This two-volume edition of the works of Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, includes selected reports, speeches and articles on domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state during the period 1939-1978.

The works which we are publishing reveal the multi-faceted activities of our party and of the entire Soviet people at very important stages of the nation's history over the last four decades--during the years in which the USSR was creating the foundations of socialism, during the Great Fatherland War, during the postwar period of restoration and economic development, during the building of a mature socialist society and communism. They concern a broad range of socio-economic issues which have urgent scientific and practical significance. These works are also related to the author's 40 years in leading positions within the party and the state. A.N. Kosygin, who has been a member of the government and a member of the CPSU Central Committee since 1939, participates directly in the development and implementation of the party's political policy, which is aimed at strengthening in every possible way the power and international position of the world's first socialist state.

The works of the last 14 years, during which A.N. Kosygin has been chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, occupy a central role in this two-volume edition. A.N. Kosygin notes that this period has been characterized by an atmosphere of ideological unity, comradesly trust and a high level of standards and party spirit which has developed in our party, in its Central Committee and Politburo, headed by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

In his reports to the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses A.N. Kosygin reveals profoundly and comprehensively the party's economic strategy under conditions of mature socialism, the main trends in the social and economic development of the USSR during the eighth, ninth and tenth five-year plans and the ways to improve the economic mechanism and the methods for the management of a socialist economy.

The outstanding achievement of the Soviet people and the result of their self-sacrificing labor has been the building of a mature socialist society, the most important characteristics of which are, as the author emphasizes, public production on a scale which has increased many times over, a higher degree of maturity in production relations, qualitative change in the factors of growth as a result of the scientific and technical revolution and the orientation toward intensive methods of economic management.

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Our success in building communism has enormous international significance and serves the common cause of the struggle for peace and communism. All progressive people in the world view each of our economic victories as a new step forward in the social progress of all mankind.

The highest goal of the party's economic strategy at the present stage is to satisfy ever more fully the steadily growing material, spiritual and social demands of the Soviet people and to develop ever more comprehensively the socialist way of life. The achievement of this goal requires a steadily increasing national income, increasing efficiency in public production, the broad application of the newest scientific and technical achievements, the rational utilization of the economic potential which has been created in the country and the implementation of a strict regime of thrift. The contents of the two-volume work provide a comprehensive analysis of the main trends in the growth of production efficiency and in the work to improve quality in all units of the national economy.

The successful utilization of the new opportunities which a developed socialist society has at its disposal requires further improvement in planning, economic stimulation and in the organizational structure of management and of the entire economic mechanism.

One of the main goals for the further improvement of the economic mechanism is the consistent orientation toward improvements in the final indicators of production and construction: the fulfillment of the plan for the delivery of output in accordance with agreements which have been concluded, the opening of finished facilities and the increase in the effectiveness of the utilization of material, labor and financial resources.

Further advancement along the path of economic and social progress results in substantially increased personnel requirements. In his report on the 61st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution A.N. Kosygin says that in order to be sure of always meeting our goals and of using effectively the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution it is necessary for every Soviet person--worker, kolkhoz member, engineer, scientist, party or economic manager--to study almost every day and to carry out concretely the party's policy of intensifying public production, increasing its effectiveness and improving the level of all economic activity.

A.N. Kosygin notes that fuller participation by our economy in the international division of labor and the shift to external economic cooperation on a long-term basis constitute a characteristic feature of the development of the Soviet economy at the present stage.

The presentations made at sessions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which is celebrating its 30th anniversary in 1979, have

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been devoted to the timely issues of economic cooperation between the nations of the socialist community. A.N. Kosygin notes that in accordance with the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, the CEMA countries are developing more widely the following: production specialization and cooperation, joint construction of important economic facilities, and cooperation in the area of planning activities. In 1978 the 32d session of CEMA, which ratified the long-range, special-purpose programs for cooperation in a number of areas which are aimed at the joint solution of major economic problems, opened up a new era in the development of economic relations between the fraternal countries.

Many of the statements included in this two-volume work reflect the active foreign policy endeavors of the party's Central Committee and of the Soviet government. In this area attention is focussed on the further strengthening of the community of socialist nations, the vital tasks of the struggle for peace and the prevention of a new war, including restraint of the arms race, the achievement of disarmament and detente and the development of international cooperation based on equal rights.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are working persistently to improve the international situation, and they are doing everything possible to make detente a truly irreversible phenomenon. The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the intensification of detente are not any kind of temporary process but instead constitute a natural line of development. This is the line of progress in international relations. The future of mankind is not in the arms race nor in destructive wars, but rather in broad international cooperation in the name of peace and progress.

The speeches made in connection A.N. Kosygin's foreign visits and his participation in negotiations with foreign party and state figures, show the nature and characteristics of our relations with particular countries and the creative approach taken by the party's central Committee and by the Soviet government toward the issues of bilateral cooperation and toward the solution of international problems which have arisen.

The materials of the two-volume work, and in particular the reports and addresses made at party congresses, CPSU Central Committee plenums, sessions of the USSR and RSFSR supreme soviets, at meetings of workers and at international forums, deal broadly with the comprehensive work of the party and the government in the leadership of socialist and communist construction. Our Leninist party and all our Soviet people, emphasizes A.N. Kosygin, enjoy a natural feeling of satisfaction in knowing that they are not only marching forward as creators of a new life in our great country but they are also exerting by virtue of their own strength a positive influence on the entire course of world history.

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The materials of the two volumes are arranged in chronological order. Some of them are printed in abridged form.

The cost data cited here for certain years are given in actual and comparable prices which were in effect for the planning and accounting in the corresponding period. Further, the cost indicators for the period before 1 January 1961 are given in the old scale and for the period after that date they are given in the new price scale.

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THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE ARE UNITED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A BRIGHT FUTURE

Speech given at a meeting with the electors of Ivanovskaya oblast
in the city of Ivanovo on 11 March 1958

Dear Comrades! Allow me to express sincere gratitude to you and through you to all the voters of the Ivanovskiy Electoral District for electing me to the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviety; I am mindful of the high trust which you have shown in me. This trust I ascribe exclusively to our Communist Party and to its Leninist Central Committee.

I assure you, comrades, that I shall make every effort to justify your trust.

The Communist Party has no interests other than the interests of the people. Concern for the welfare of the Soviet people and for the steady improvement in their material well-being constitutes the essence of all the work of our party.

Our people are closely united around the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, and they fully approve and support the wise policy of the party. The powerful force of development in our society has its roots in the close unity of the party and the people. Under the leadership of the great Communist Party the Soviet people have built socialism and are now successfully working to meet the grandiose targets set by the historic 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people are sparing no strength or energy to further enhance the prosperity of their Homeland, and they want to live in peace and friendship with all peoples.

In past appearances before the voters our party has stated that it will make every effort to prevent a new war and to ensure that the Soviet people have the opportunity to labor calmly without fear for tomorrow. Everyone sees now that the forces of peace have grown stronger. Our party and our people have made a great contribution to this situation. The Communist Party and the Soviet government are sparing no effort in the struggle to implement the noble goal of ensuring the peace and friendship of peoples. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is playing an outstanding role in the struggle for peace. The international authority of our Homeland has grown even greater.

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The Leninist party upholds the principles of peaceful coexistence of nations with different social systems. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin said that "we are for union with all nations, excluding none."¹

The policy of peaceful coexistence of nations with different socio-political systems is shared and supported by all peace-loving peoples. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are conducting a consistent struggle for peace and friendship among peoples. We, the Soviet people, stand for the maximum possible development of economic and cultural ties with all countries and for the non-interference of one nation in the internal affairs of another. We are for competition between nations with different social systems in the development of a peaceful economy and in the expansion of the production of material goods to better satisfy the needs of the people.

We stand for the solution of all international problems only through peaceful negotiations, and we reject decisively the method of solving disputes through the use of force. The Soviet nation will never start a war unless it is attacked.

The Soviet Union demonstrates in practice its sincere desire for peace. No one can dispute this. In the area of foreign policy the Communist Party and the Soviet government have carried out many significant measures in the interests of lessening the tension and improving the international situation, including three unilateral reductions in the number of our armed forces.

If the USA and other Western countries took similar steps, this would be reflected to an even greater degree in improvements in the international situation.

International events of recent times demonstrate that aggressive imperialist forces have not turned away from a policy of cold war and the arms race.

In regard to the states of the socialist camp, the ruling circles of the United States of America and other Western countries are even now attempting to conduct policy "from a position of strength," with plans to force them to make concessions damaging to the interests of socialism. They are looking for any kind of pretext to continue the cold war. Even the great scientific achievements of our scholars such as the launching of the Soviet sputniks have been used by reactionary circles to strengthen hostile propaganda and to fan a new military psychosis.

While using peace loving phrases as a cover, the United States of America in fact is continuing an unrestrained arms race; it is expanding and creating new military bases around the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracies.

¹ V.I. Lenin. Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 146.

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By following the aggressive American policy the governments of England, France and certain other Western countries are losing more and more of their independence in the conduct of foreign policy. They are sacrificing the national interests of their countries by granting the American military clique the right to use land belonging to these countries as rocket and atomic weapon sites.

Attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations continue to be made by the Western powers.

The imperialist circles still cherish the dream of restoring capitalism in the countries of people's democracy. This is the only way to explain the American government's stubborn insistence on the need to discuss changes in the state system in the countries of people's democracy. This is nothing other than gross interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

On the question of Germany, American monopolists exert every possible form of opposition to a peaceful solution to the problem of uniting the German people into a single democratic and peace-loving state.

They would like to abolish the democratic achievements of the German Democratic Republic, where power belongs to the workers and peasants, and to annex Eastern Germany to Western Germany and to include the former in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

But this policy goes against the vital interests of the broad masses of working people in Germany, who, like other peoples, are interested in preserving peace.

The Soviet Union considers the unification of East and West Germany to be a matter to be solved by the German people themselves.

The imperialists are attempting in vain to halt the process of disintegration which is occurring in the colonial system. There is now hardly a colony left in Asia, and the peoples of Africa are conducting a brave struggle for their liberation.

The colonizers are using military adventures and provocations in their attempt to enslave once again the countries recently liberated from the colonial yoke and to acquire their wealth.

The peoples remember the war unleashed in Egypt by the Anglo-French-Israeli aggressors. As is well known, the decisive warning given by the Soviet Union played a decisive role in suppressing this aggression.

Attempts by the American imperialists to provoke a military conflict on the Turkish-Syrian border were exposed by the Soviet Union in good time. The active intervention of the Soviet Union prevented the outbreak of a

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new conflagration in the Middle East. This was a serious blow to the aggressive forces of imperialism and it signified a great victory for all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The movement of Asian and African peoples for their independence and for greater solidarity among these peoples against colonialism is becoming more and more powerful. In our times the peoples of the East are making a great contribution to the struggle for peace and for peaceful cooperation among peoples.

The Soviet Union is the center of the peace-loving forces. People of good will have turned their sights and aspirations toward our country. The words of the Peace Manifesto, adopted by the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties from 64 countries of the world in 1957, rang forth from Moscow. This document calls for all peace-loving peoples to combine their efforts in the struggle for the peace and friendship of peoples.

The Soviet Union has consistently carried out a peace-loving foreign policy. Recently the Soviet government came forward with a new and concrete program to ease international tension; under discussion is a proposal to hold a meeting of heads of state from a number of socialist and capitalist countries for the purpose of discussing the most important and urgent international issues related to the prevention of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, as well as a proposal concerning a ban on the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The adoption of decisions on these issues would free mankind from fear of the most destructive war ever.

Establishing a Central European zone which would be free of atomic weapons would undoubtedly have a beneficial influence on the international atmosphere. This is all the more important because this decision concerns an area which in the past was a breeding ground of world war.

The adoption of the following Soviet government proposals would constitute an important measure to reduce international tension:

a proposal concerning a non-aggression pact to be concluded by the nations of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) and the socialist member-states of the Warsaw Pact;

a proposal concerning a reduction in the number of foreign troops stationed on German territory and in other European nations;

a proposal concerning an end to war propaganda.

The establishment of normal trade relations would constitute a major step forward. The Western countries have created many artificial obstacles in the area of trade relations with the socialist countries.

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Under pressure from American ruling circles they have introduced--to the detriment of their own economies--every possible limitation on trade. The elimination of foreign trade limitations and the expansion of economic ties under mutually beneficial conditions would make it possible to increase the turnover of foreign trade between countries with different social systems. This would be of great benefit to all the peoples concerned.

The Soviet people sympathize with the peoples of the Near- and Middle-Eastern countries, which have embarked on a course of independent political and economic development. The Soviet government, which is interested in the preservation of peace in this area, has proposed that the conference of heads of states should also discuss ways to reduce the tension in the Near- and Middle-East in order to exclude the possible use of force in this area.

The positive resolution of the problems of international relations would constitute a good start for the establishment of an extended and firm peace throughout the world, in the name of which the Soviet Union is conducting a persistent struggle.

In its address to the voters the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stated that in the future its work would continue to be devoted to the strengthening of the great and noble cause of the defense of peace, to the comprehensive development of the economy and to further improvement of the material well-being of the Soviet people.

Comrades! Four years have passed since the last elections. It would seem that this is not a very long period of time. But what enormous changes have taken place in our country! New cities and industrial centers have grown up. Thousands of new plants, factories, mines, power plants and other major enterprises have been created.

The rapid development of our economy demonstrates the great advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system. There is no historical example of a country which has taken such a gigantic step forward in one generation, a step sufficiently great to move it from economic backwardness and a primarily agricultural economy into the form of an advanced nation. And this has taken place despite capitalist encirclement and several wars unleashed by imperialists against our state.

Nearly half of the time that the Soviet state has existed has been given over to armed conflict against enemies and the restoration of an economy destroyed by war.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin taught that "we shall overtake other states with a speed of which they have not dreamed."¹

1. V.K. Lenin, Poln sobr. soch., Complete Collected Works, Vol 45, p 247.

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It is a fact that the Soviet nation has outstripped the main capitalist countries in the rate of economic development, and that even now the absolute amount of the yearly increase in the output of many items is greater than it is in any of the capitalist countries. In 1957 the volume of industrial production increased 10 percent in our country.

In an economic and technical regard the Soviet Union has definitely become one of the leading industrial powers. Our country produces more industrial goods than any European state and is second in production volume only to the USA.

Our economy is following a course of continued upward development. The total growth of industrial production is accompanied by high rates of development. The national economy is based on the great achievements of Soviet science and technology. And in turn, industry contributes to the development of Soviet science. All the conditions necessary for the creative work of scientists have been created in our country.

Discoveries and great technical achievements which are well known to the entire world testify to the leading role of Soviet scholars in international science.

The time has passed when the imperialists looked with condescension at Soviet science and at the capabilities of Soviet scientists, engineers and technicians. The successes of our scientists have forced the capitalist world to re-examine its attitude and to acknowledge the great achievements of the Soviet Union.

The figures for 1957 published by the Central Statistical Administration show that all the republics have fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan for industrial output. Industry is now operating smoothly throughout the Soviet Union. The plan for 1958 sets high targets for the further development of all sectors of the national economy, and it devotes particular attention to such important sectors as the chemical industry the oil and gas industry, ferrous metallurgy and agriculture.

Industrial and residential construction is taking place on an enormous scale in the USSR. Since the last elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet more than 700 billion rubles have been invested in capital construction.

During the four years more than 400 coal mines have been built and put into operation, as have 16 blast furnaces and 24 open-hearth furnaces, 16 rolling mills and 22 coke furnace batteries.

New power plants with a total capacity of 20 million kilowatts have been put into service; this capacity is 17-fold greater than the capacity of all the electrical power plants in tsarist Russian in 1913.

During these years more than 900 new enterprises of the light industry and the food industry have been opened. They include major cotton combines;

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the Kamyshin, the second Barnaul, the Kherson and Minsk worsted combines and many other enterprises. New sugar refineries, many canneries and meat processing facilities and other food industry enterprises have been built.

Capital construction is scheduled to receive an increase in funds in 1958; moreover, there will be significantly increased appropriations (as opposed to the 1957 figures) in those sectors of heavy industry which produce goods currently in short supply in the national economy.

The enormous scale of capital construction and technical re-equipping of industry are related to the large metal consumption. From year to year ferrous metallurgy is increasing the production of steel, cast iron, and rolled products. At the present time a number of significant measures is being carried out to further expand capacity, and a substantially greater amount of capital investment is being directed into this branch of industry than it was last year.

The chemical industry will undergo great development. Technical progress in many sectors of the national economy is closely linked with chemistry. The production of a variety of cheap and high-quality consumer goods is also unthinkable without further development of the chemical industry.

Our country possesses enormous raw material reserves for the chemical industry. Petroleum, natural and industrial gases are valuable raw materials for the production, for example, of synthetic fibers, plastics, synthetic alcohol, various resins, etc.

The Communist Party and the government have set as a goal the development on a broad scale of the production of plastics, artificial fibers and other chemical products. The chemical industry has been assigned to develop in every possible way the production of synthetic alcohol, of cheap high-quality washing substances and other products obtained from the processing of oil and various gases. Five major plants for the production of synthetic alcohol are already in operation in the following cities: Saratov, Sumgait, Kuybyshev, Orsk and Ufa. The opening of new plants will make it possible to reduce the amount of grain, potatoes and vegetable oils used for technical purposes and to free millions of pounds of food raw materials for feeding purposes.

Every year there is an increase in the amount of mineral fertilizers supplied to agriculture. Measures are being taken to develop this area of production, which is so important for agriculture.

The amount of capital investment in the chemical industry has been increased more than 1.5 fold in 1958, as opposed to 1957. In the past the chemical industry did not receive such a great volume of capital investment.

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In the coming years petroleum and gas, which are the cheapest and highest energy forms of fuel, must come to occupy a dominant place in the nation's fuel balance. In 1958 petroleum production will total about 112 million tons, that is, it will grow nearly 14 percent over last year.

The Soviet Union has at its disposal vast petroleum deposits. Geologists have discovered more than 100 oil pools in the area of the Ural-Volga rayons alone. Dozens of new oil pools have been found in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Northern Caucasus, Sakhalin, Ukhta and in other areas.

In recent years major finds of natural gas have been made, especially in the Volga area, Azerbaijan, the Ukraine, Stavropol'skiy Kray, the Komi ASSR, Tyumenskaya Oblast, Yakutskaya ASSR and in a number of other regions. In 1957 gas production totaled 20 billion m³, and in the current year it will increase 1.5 fold. Gas is a cheap and very convenient fuel which does not require the expenditure of heavy physical labor, as does coal, for example. The use of gas for household needs has particular significance. At present many cities--Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Rostov-na-Donu, Voroshilovgrad and a number of others are making wide use of this form of fuel. Gas has not only eased the load of domestic work, it has also raised the level of everyday life. The work of providing gas to cities and workers' housing projects will be expanded along a broad front in the coming years.

Light industry and the food industry have achieved noticeable success. There is high rate of growth in the production of silk, wool and linen textiles, knitted fabrics, animal fat, milk products, canned goods, meat, sugar and a number of other products.

I will cite some figures for the increase in the production of the most important consumer goods. During the last four years, for example, the output of textiles has increased by more than 900 million meters. In the current year production will exceed 7.2 billion meters.

The output of footwear has increased by 78 million pairs and will reach 370 million pairs in 1958.

In 1953 sugar refining yielded an output of 3,434,000 tons, and in the current year production should amount to about 5 million tons.

Particularly great changes have taken place in agriculture. The Soviet people have achieved a great feat in putting 36 million hectares of virgin and fallow lands into productive use; every year the state receives hundreds of millions of pounds of grain from these lands.

Last year a serious drought in a number of regions inflicted major damage on the harvest. Nonetheless, the country as a whole produced 26 percent more grain than in 1953.

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All of you know that in recent years the party's Central Committee has developed and implemented a number of significant measures to further improve agriculture.

The February (1958) plenum of the party's Central Committee put forward for national discussion the issue of how to develop the kolkhoz system and reorganize the machine tractor stations.

The machine tractor stations played a large role during the period in which the kolkhoz system was being organized and the kolkhoz's were being formed. They performed great services in the development of public production, in the growth of the kolkhoz's indivisible funds, in the expansion of the area under cultivation, in improvements in the profitability of the kolkhoz's and in improvements in the life of the kolkhoz members.

The machine tractor stations were the main connecting link between the state and the kolkhoz members; they were the bearers of the new socialist culture in the countryside. They trained numerous personnel for all branches of agricultural production. The machine operators who were trained at the machine-tractor stations constitute a golden fund for agriculture.

Today the kolkhoz's are stronger economically, and they have experienced personnel at their disposal. Many of them are in a position to buy the equipment which they need.

When the kolkhoz itself owns the agricultural equipment, it will have a more active influence on the quality of machinery produced; it will make known to industry its demands for higher quality equipment.

Our kolkhoz youth receive a secondary education, and they wish to work more closely with the equipment. Many of them leave for the machine-tractor stations or other industrial enterprises. If the equipment belongs directly to the kolkhoz's, the young people will have a great new incentive to remain at work in their own kolkhoz's.

The reorganization of the machine-tractor stations into machine repair stations will take place gradually. The plenum indicated that this reorganization must be carried out with consideration for the features of the particular region of the country. The plenum recognized that it was essential to organize a national discussion of the measures worked out by the party to further develop the kolkhoz system and reorganize the machine tractor stations; this is to be followed by consideration at a session of the Supreme Soviet. There is no doubt that during the broad discussion of the measures advanced by the party many valuable proposals will be made on how to better organize the delivery of production and technical services for the kolkhoz's.

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and how to better organize the labor in the rural artels. And this is the main thing in a new program to improve all sectors of agriculture.

The All-Union Conference of Cotton Growers, which took place in Moscow recently, discussed the expansion of cotton production. In recent years Soviet cotton growers have had great success. Modern agricultural equipment for cultivating the cotton plant and mechanization of the labor-intensive work has made it possible to increase yields and to increase the amount of raw cotton picked. In accordance with a government decision, major capital work is being carried out in the area of water management and the irrigation of land which is being used for cotton growing for the first time, especially in the Hungry Steppe.

The conference participants expressed the opinion of all the cotton growers by taking upon themselves official obligations to ensure further improvement of cotton cultivation in the coming years.

Only recently flax-growing was in a very bad state. The situation is now completely different, however. As a result of measures carried out by the party and the government, the nation's flax production has grown significantly, and the yield of flax fiber has increased sharply.

The linen industry's demand for raw materials is now completely satisfied. The most favorable possible conditions have been created for the operation of all enterprises of the linen industry.

The working people of the Ivanovo Electoral District are making a large contribution to the general cause of industrial and agricultural development.

In talking about Ivanovskaya Oblast it is essential to note first of all the significant growth of its industry. Industrial output has increased 24 percent in comparison with 1953. The textile industry accounts for the largest volume of output in the total industrial production. At the same time machine building, light industry and the food industry have all grown up in the oblast. The enterprises of Ivanovskaya Oblast fulfilled the 1957 plan ahead of schedule. The variety of products available has expanded significantly, with new items essential to the national economy making their appearance.

The rate at which state residential construction is taking place has increased significantly. New housing is up 1.5-fold in comparison with 1956. Every year thousands of peoples are moving into new, buildings with modern conveniences. But there is still much work to be done in order to provide living space to all those needing it. In the coming years this will be one of the main goals of Ivanovskaya Oblast industry and the local organs of power.

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Positive changes have also taken place in agriculture. Cattle productivity and milk yields have increased. However, the oblast's agriculture is still not meeting the state quotas for increases in grain yields, and in the number of cattle and for the production of meat, milk, potatoes and vegetables.

In order to eliminate the shortfalls of agricultural products, especially in the area of animal husbandry, it is essential to devote even more attention to increasing grain production by expanding the area under crops and especially improving yields and to significantly increase the area sown with potatoes, vegetables and fodder crops.

Ivanovskaya Oblast has great opportunities for growth in the size of cattle herds and for expansion in meat and milk production. But these opportunities are being poorly used. The number of cattle has increased by 32,000 head in comparison with 1 January 1954; however, the number of cows is still lower than it was before the war.

More attention needs to be given to the development of pig- and poultry farming. It is particularly important to give more attention to the expansion of sheep farming because the number of sheep has hardly grown at all in recent years.

It is essential for the collectives of the enterprises to do everything they can to increase output and to provide more good-quality fabric for the Soviet consumer. One of the most important tasks facing the textile industry is to increase output at enterprises which are in operation. This requires widespread capital construction, as well the replacement of antiquated equipment which the textile enterprises still have with new, highly efficient machines. In recent years the industry has done considerable work to put the weaving process under automatic control. The number of automatic looms in our enterprises exceeds 40 percent of the total number of looms.

We must replace old equipment with more productive machines more rapidly. The use of production lines and the comprehensive mechanization of labor-intensive work is of particular significance in providing for increased labor productivity; they constitute the decisive prerequisite for increased labor productivity and for further growth in the production of consumer goods.

Steady improvement in the material welfare of the Soviet people is closely related to the success of our economy. An increase in the level of the material well-being of the working people finds its first reflection in the growth of commodity turnover. During last year alone the commodity turnover of state and cooperative trade increased by 75 billion rubles. In 1958 the total volume of commodity turnover will reach 660 billion rubles.

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Every year the Soviet people buy more and more various goods. There is growing demand for high-quality food products, better clothing, and for objects and goods which create convenience and comfort in everyday life.

Among food items there is sharp growth in the sale of meat products, fats, milk and sugar. In 1957 the sale of meat and meat products through the state trade system increased more than 3-fold in comparison with the pre-war level.

The sale of animal fat, milk and other dairy products increased nearly 4-fold, the sale of vegetable oil more than 3-fold and sugar more than 3-fold.

In the field of industrial products there has been a substantial increase in the sale of fabric, especially wool and silk, and of sewing items and footwear.

Of course, in a number of areas the growth of population demand for certain goods significantly exceeds the rate of growth in the production of these items. Every opportunity is available to further increase the output of consumer goods, to significantly improve trade and to satisfy more fully the growing demand of consumers.

An extremely revealing indicator of the improved material level of the people can be seen in the sharp increase in the sale of goods for cultural and household purposes--watches, sewing machines, radios, televisions, refrigerators, bicycles, motor cycles, cameras and pianos.

The high rate of residential construction has resulted in a great increase in the public demand for various items of furniture, curtains, tulle items, and other household goods.

The great growth in trade has also been caused by the steady increase in the monetary incomes and buying power of the population.

According to the data of the Central Statistical Administration, the level of real earnings by blue- and white-collar workers has increased approximately 1.9 fold in comparison with pre-war times. The incomes of kolkhoz members have also increased.

In general the income--in money and in kind--of the kolkhoz members derived from public and private farming in 1958 increased 33 percent over 1953, with the amounts calculated per one person working and in comparable prices.

The housing problem remains the most acute problem and it is one which requires concentrated attention. The unsatisfactory state of the housing supply in our country is related not only to the difficult legacy inherited from tsarist Russia, which had an extremely inadequate housing stock, but also to the colossal destruction of living accommodation during

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the second world war. The party and the government attach particular importance to this question. During the years of Soviet power the nation's housing stock has increased more than 3-fold. In the post-war years residential buildings with a total area of 350 million m² have been built or restored in the cities and workers' housing projects. During the last year alone more than 48 million m² of living space have been put into service. This is 30 percent more than in 1956.

In addition, kolkhoz members and the rural intelligentsia have built 770,000 homes with their own funds using state credits.

We have created a powerful and well-mechanized construction industry. In all our industrial centers construction has started on a broad scale; multi-story residential buildings with apartments equipped to meet modern public health standards are going up. In the current year residential buildings with a total area of 61 million m² will be erected. This figure shows the size of the steps which we have taken in the effort to expand the housing stock.

The transition to the shorter working day, which is being carried out in accordance with the decision of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, constitutes an important event in the life of the working class in our country.

The transition to the shorter working day is being carried out while maintaining completely the wage levels which have been achieved and while taking every necessary measure to ensure an increase in labor productivity. With the 7-hour day the hourly rate of labor productivity must be significantly higher than with the 8-hour day.

Only by systematically increasing labor productivity will we make our country even richer and ensure that there is steady growth in the living standard of the working people.

Comrades! In the last four years our country has taken a major step forward in the building of communism.

Our successes in the development of the economy, in culture and science provide evidence of the world-wide historical advantages of the socialist economic system. We have every reason to look confidently into the future.

The Communist Party will do everything possible to ensure that the coming years are ones of peaceful labor and new successes in meeting the goals of communist construction set out in the address of the party's Central Committee to all voters.

Our party states that it will fight persistently for further improvements in the national economy and for fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual demands of the Soviet peoples.

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Allow me to express once again my gratitude for your warm words and wishes. I consider it a great honor to be a candidate from the Ivanovskiy Electoral District, a major center of the textile industry, which is renowned for its revolutionary traditions; it is a place where hereditary textile workers live and labor unselfishly, contributing their creative work to the cause of the further flowering of our socialist Homeland, to the struggle for the building of a communist society.

Long live the great unity of the party and the people in the struggle for a bright future--for communism!

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THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS OF THE LEGENDARY AURORA

Remarks at a ceremonial session held in Baltiysk to present a second Order of the Red Banner to the Red Banner Baltic Fleet on 25 July 1967

Dear Comrades! In this year when our country has been celebrating an historic date--the 20th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany--a decision was made to award the Black Sea, Northern, Pacific and Red Banner Baltic fleets the order of the Red Banner. These awards are to mark the outstanding services of the Soviet Navy to the Homeland in battles against the German fascist aggressors during the Great Patriotic War.

From now on the flag of the Baltic fleet will display two orders of the Red Banner as a symbol of its revolutionary and military services and the immortal feats of its sailors and petty officers, officers and admirals.

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government I heartily congratulate all the personnel of the dual Red Banner Baltic Fleet--the sailors, petty officers, officers and admirals and all the veterans of the fleet on this high award, which was earned in the hard battles for the freedom and independence of our socialist Homeland.

The Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government have also called on me to convey to you, comrades, warmest best wishes from the working people of our country--workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia--on the occasion of Navy Day. This day is a holiday for all the people who love the Navy and take pride in its wonderful personnel, who are people of unlimited courage, fortitude and devotion to the cause of the party.

The Baltic fleet is one of our country's oldest fleets and one of the most glorious detachments of its splendid Naval Forces. It's history is rich in battle traditions, and it is linked with the struggle of our people against foreign aggressors.

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The sailors of the Baltic Fleet were in the front ranks of the revolutionary fighters against the tsarist autocracy; they constituted one of the fighting detachments of the Bolshevik party, which aroused the working people of Russia to the struggle for freedom. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin called the Baltic sailors advanced fighters for the emancipation of the working classes.

During the foreign military intervention and the civil war the Baltic Fleet bravely and skilfully defended the marine approaches to Petrograd, the city of the proletarian revolution, the start of which was announced to the world by the shot from the Aurora.

The sailors of the Baltic Fleet proved worthy of the party's high trust. The figure of a sailor with the gold letters "Baltic Fleet" on his cap will remain forever in the people's memory as a symbol of fearlessness and devotion to the cause of the revolution.

The party of the Bolsheviks, the government of the Republic of the Soviets and Lenin personally in the first difficult years for Soviet power, sent leading representatives of the revolutionary Baltic Fleet to the central provinces, to Belorussia, to the Ukraine and to the Caucasus to help the local organs of Soviet power. They were among the most active organizers of Soviet power.

In the most difficult years of the civil war, when the enemy was approaching Petrograd, the sailors of the revolutionary Baltic Fleet firmly stood guard, repulsing the blows of the interventionists and the White Guards. Thousands of seamen fought on numerous fronts in the Civil War in the ranks of the Red Army, in partisan detachments, on the Black and White seas, in the Pacific, on the Volga and on the Amur. The heroes of October--the sailors of the Baltic Fleet--remained to the end faithful to their revolutionary duty, and the Soviet people will never forget the names of the eminent Bolsheviks and heroes of October and the Civil War, P.Ye. Dybenko and N.F. Izmaylov; the commanders and commissars of the revolutionary detachments and war ships, A.G. Zheleznyakov, B.A. Zhemchuzhin, I.N. Kolbin, P.D. Khokhr-yakov, N.A. Khovrin, I.I. Vakhrameyev and many others. Their feats are the glory of the Soviet Navy, and an example taught to our young people. You yourselves, comrades, expressed this well in a letter to the Central Committee of our party, to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the Soviet government, which was recently taken up at your rallies and meetings for personnel of the fleet. The letter says: "Every Baltic fighter preserves in his heart as his greatest heritage a rich treasure house of valor and courage, and of the heroism and legendary glory of the fathers and older brothers." Wonderful words. May the seaman of the twice-honored Red Banner Baltic Fleet always remain faithful to these glorious traditions!

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The Baltic Fleet received its first Order of the Red Banner in 1928. It was awarded in recognition of the fleet's revolutionary services and in recognition of the role which the Baltic seamen had played in the struggle against the enemies of the young Soviet Republic, and in the subsequent work to strengthen the fighting power of our country, its Naval forces.

The second Order of the Red Banner, which is awarded today, marks the immortal feats of the Baltic sailors during the Great Patriotic War. From the first to the last hour of the war the sailors of the Baltic fought selflessly against the fascist aggressors.

The situation developed in such a way that our navy not only had to fight the enemy's navy and air force but also had to take active part in battles on land. Working closely with the Soviet Army, the Baltic seamen stubbornly maintained the defense in coastal areas. In the first weeks and months of the war the fleet heroically defended the naval bases of Tallin and Khanko, and the islands of the Moonzundskiy Archipelago--important centers of resistance at the far approaches to Leningrad.

The Khanko garrison, led by Lieutenant General S.I. Kabanov and the divisional commissar, A.L. Rasskin, held out heroically for 165 days. This was one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War. Muscovites, who were ecstatic at this feat by the island's defenders, wrote to them at the time: "Great honor and immortal glory to you, heroes of Khanko!" It is possible that among you here today there are sailors who heroically defended Khanko. Allow me to once again extend greetings to the representatives of this glorious fighting group of sailors.

More than once at this time the fascist German command declared that the Baltic Fleet was blocked, surrounded and destroyed. The Hitlerites place extensive mine fields in the Gulf of Finland. Major groups of the enemy's army and navy, as well as significant air power, were mustered to inflict blows against our navy and its naval bases.

The Hitlerites thought that they had provided everything necessary to destroy the Baltic Fleet. But they miscalculated by underestimating its might and the moral strength of the Soviet people, soldiers and sailors. All of the enemy's attempts to break through to the city bearing the name of the great Lenin ended in defeat.

All of the fleet's air power, hundreds of barrels of ship and shore artillery and tens of thousands of seamen in marine brigades and battalions helped to repulse the fierce assaults of the enemy, which attempted more than once to take Leningrad. From the Pulkov Rayon the guns of the Aurora, which had been taken from the legendary cruiser and set up on land, pounded the enemy. The glory of all who participated in the defense of Leningrad is immortal.

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During the blockade of Leningrad in 1941-1942 the sailors of the Baltic Fleet showed unlimited resolve and will to fight. In the darkest days the sailors of the fleet with their tenacity and courage inspired confidence in the residents of the besieged city, and they raised the determination and strength of all the city's defenders. In Leningrad at this time it was difficult to distinguish the front and the rear--all the city's residents had become participants in the defense of the city, and the Baltic Fleet sailors maintained close contact with the population, inspiring and encouraging people. On the streets of Leningrad it was not uncommon to see a sailor giving his modest ration of food to a hungry child or a weakened woman. In the trials and adversity of the blockade the Baltic seamen displayed high spiritual qualities, nobility and strength inculcated by our party. Under incredibly difficult conditions the seamen did a great deal to maintain the besieged city's vital link with the country, the "road of life," as it was called by Leningraders at that time, which ran across Lake Ladoga.

The Red Banner Baltic Fleet, headed by its commanding admiral, V.F. Tributs and by Vice-Admiral N.K. Smirnov, a member of the Military Council, successfully participated in the defeat of the fascist German forces near Leningrad, which marked the beginning of the historic victories of the Soviet armed forces in 1944. On the medal "For the defense of Leningrad" we see depicted a soldier and a sailor, a male and a female worker.

The feats performed by the submarines of the Baltic Fleet have no parallel in naval history. When the fascist invaders understood that they would not be able to destroy the Baltic Fleet, they attempted to lock it into the Gulf of Finland. But this attempt did not succeed either. By breaking through anti-submarine barriers, our submarines left besieged Leningrad and sank enemy ships everywhere in the Baltic, even at the very shores of fascist Germany.

Your commander, Aleksandr Yevstaf'yevich Orel, who was himself a member of a submarine crew and fought in the Baltic throughout the war, knows well how the submariners fought. Submarines under the command of comrades Ye. Ya. Osipov, S.P. Lisin, P.S. Kuz'min, I.M. Vishnevskiy, I.V. Travkin, A.I. Marinesko and many others, worked skillfully and selflessly on enemy communications.

Seamen of the fighting boats and other surface vessels also played an important role.

Even in the darkest days the airplanes of the Red Banner Baltic Fleet continued to inflict blows against the enemy. The names of N.V. Chelnokov, A. Ye. Mazurenko, N.G. Stepanyan, V.I. Rakov and others, who were twice awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union are famous. In August 1941 the Baltic fliers, under the command of Ye.N. Preobrazhenskiy, Hero of the Soviet Union, completed the first flight over Berlin.

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Throughout the war the marines displayed great military skill, courage and fortitude. They fought to the last ditch at the walls of Leningrad, and they marched in the front ranks to break the blockade; they carried out landing operations on the Baltic islands and they assaulted the shores of Eastern Prussia. It can be said that these were crack units, ready to carry out any mission, no matter how difficult or dangerous.

During the final stage of the war the personnel of the Red Banner Baltic Fleet made a great contribution to the achievement of victory. By their actions they helped to eliminate the enemy's Königsberg and Zemlandskaya groups, to attack the spit of Frische-Nerung, and to capture the major naval base of the Hitlerite navy at Swinemunde. On 9 May 1945 a landing operation by Baltic sailors liberated the Danish island of Bornholm.

Many sailors did not live to see victory, but they did everything they could to defeat the enemy. Today, on this day of celebration we bow our heads and recall those who fought bravely against the fascist German invaders during this difficult time and died the death of the brave, fulfilling their soldierly duty. Comrades, I ask you to honor the memory of the fallen heroes with a minute of silence.

The feats of Baltic Fleet sailors during the Great Patriotic War have been recognized by the Soviet government in the awards which it has granted. The title, Hero of the Soviet Union, was bestowed on 141 persons. More than 46,000 persons were awarded orders and medal of the Soviet Union. Orders decorate the battle flags of 54 ships and units of the fleet, and 21 have been honored with the designation "Guards."

Honor and glory to the seamen of the Red Banner Baltic Fleet, who give their utmost to discharge their responsibilities before the socialist Homeland!

In defense and offense, in days of failure and days of victory, communists were the leading force among the sailors of the Baltic. They defended to the last the boundaries assigned to them and they were the first into attack against the enemy. Party organizations and political workers on the ships and in the units raised the fighting spirit of the men and inspired them to fortitude and fearlessness in the name of the Homeland. By personal example the political workers strengthened in every seaman the will to fight, and they inspired firm confidence in the victory of our just cause. Their contribution to victory over the enemy was invaluable.

At the front and in the rear, in army units and in the navy--everywhere once could see the leading role played by our Leninist party, which was, is and will be a source of great inspiration and the organizer of all our victories. As in the days of the Great Patriotic War, the strength of our army and navy lies in their deep devotion to the cause of the party, to the cause of communism.

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Comrades! Today, in times of peaceful construction by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Baltic Fleet vigilantly guards the northwestern boundaries of our Homeland.

We live at a time when the forces of socialism--the forces of progress--are exerting a growing influence on the course of world development and containing the forces of reaction and militarism.

The situation which has developed is in line with the interests of our state, the interests of the socialist community as a whole and the interests of the other peace-loving states of Northern Europe. This is also reflected in the Baltic situation, where we have as neighbors the fraternal socialist countries of Poland and the German Democratic Republic, friendly Finland and neutral Sweden. But we must not forget that contrary to the wishes of the people in the Baltic countries, the Baltic Sea has still not become a sea of peace. This sea has friendly, as well as far from friendly shores, where NATO military bases are located.

Nor can we forget that the aggressive forces of imperialism are striving with all the means at their disposal to retard the course of history, and they do not stop at direct military provocation against freedom-loving countries and peoples. Under these circumstances the Communist Party, its Central Committee and the Soviet government consider their primary duty to be the consolidation of the nation's defensive power and the military preparedness of the USSR Armed Forces.

The party and the people, as before, set great tasks before the Red Banner (twice awarded) Baltic Fleet, which is a powerful outpost of our Homeland. It is directly opposed by the naval forces of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc in the areas of the Baltic and North seas, and it is called upon to vigilantly stand on guard for peace.

The Baltic Fleet keeps watch in fraternal alliance with the sailors of the naval forces of the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic, and with all of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. The joint efforts of the comrades in arms, who stand ready to protect socialism and communism are a reliable guarantee of our nations' peaceful labor, and ensure new victories for our great cause. The unity of the socialist countries increases the might of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community.

A galaxy of talented commanders, excellent political workers, skillful petty officers and sailors, who are genuine masters of the military arts, has grown up in the Baltic Fleet. They preserve and augment the revolutionary and battle traditions inherited from the Baltic sailors of the older generation.

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The Baltic Fleet has everything it needs to fulfill with honor its responsible and respected mission. Its military might is embodied in new submarine and surface vessels and in its jet airplanes. Particularly great qualitative changes have taken place in the fleet in recent years as a result of important discoveries in science and fruitful work by our scientists, designers and engineers. You, comrades, know better than anyone else that in terms of fighting potential the ships, airplanes and other forms of materiel possessed by the navy, differ fundamentally from the ships and aircraft of the Great Patriotic War.

Missile weaponry has increased the fighting potential of our military vessels many times over. Our missile-carrying submarines are some of the most powerful types of armaments. These terrifying weapons are capable of striking at any depth against the territory of a potential enemy of our country.

You, comrade seamen, have been entrusted with powerful armaments, which have as their only purpose the protection of peace and the preservation of the security of the Soviet people and its allies. You have been entrusted with very complex equipment based on the latest achievements of science. It is the highest patriotic duty of navy personnel to master to perfection this remarkable equipment, to sharpen their military skills and to learn the art of achieving victory in contemporary battle.

We can say with complete confidence that today our navy is stronger than it has ever been in all of its history. Let those to whom the successes of the Soviet Union and the successes of socialism give no rest learn this well.

Dear comrades! The party and the Soviet people value highly your faithful service and are proud of you. The high award, which is presented to the fleet for participation in the defeat of the fascist German invaders, shall inspire naval personnel to glorious new deeds in the name of the nation's greater defense might.

May the banner of the Baltic Fleet, which has never been lowered before an enemy, wave proudly.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government, I heartily congratulate once again all of the personnel of the Baltic Fleet--the sailors and petty officers, officers and admirals, as well as veterans of the fleet--on the achievement of this high award.

I wish you all, dear friends, good health, and great success both in your personal lives and in your work to fulfill the sacred duty of Soviet seamen, who defend the peaceful labor of the Soviet people--the builders of communism--and who stand on guard for their achievements.

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Long live the Red Banner (twice awarded) Baltic Fleet!

Long live the great Soviet people and its valiant armed forces!

Glory to the Leninist party of communists--the source of inspiration and the organizer of all our victories!

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THE ORDER OF LENIN ON THE BANNER OF VOLOGODSKAYA OBLAST

Speech given in the city of Vologda at a ceremonial meeting of representatives of the working people held on 21 October 1967 to present the Order of Lenin to Vologodskaya Oblast

Dear Comrades! The Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have entrusted me with the honor of presenting the Order of Lenin, our Homeland's highest award, to Vologodskaya Oblast and of conveying to the working people of the oblast warm congratulations on this important event. This award is presented in recognition of the great successes of the working people of the oblast in communist construction, in the establishment of major industry and socialist agriculture in the development of culture and in the struggle to achieve prosperity for our powerful Homeland.

The presentation of this high award takes place on the eve of a national holiday--the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Permit me to extend best wishes on the coming holiday to all those participating in this representative meeting, and through you to all the workers, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia, students and guests who have come for your celebration.

The 50th anniversary of the Soviet state is a time for reflection on our strengths, achievements and victories. While summarizing the results of our great and glorious path, we must address ourselves at the same time to the tasks for the future; we must outline the prospects for our further advancement.

The Soviet people were the first in the world to pave the way for socialist construction, and they did so under conditions of resistance from the exploiting classes within the country and of encirclement by international capitalism.

The path of pioneers is always difficult; it requires constant searching for solutions to extremely complex problems and constant effort to overcome many obstacles. On this subject V.I. Lenin said: "This is something new and unprecedented in history, and you cannot read about it in books."¹

I. V.I. Lenin. Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 265.

⁴¹
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The Communist Party, created by the great Lenin, proceeds along an unexplored path towards a clear goal, without fearing difficulties and without giving way in the face of temporary setbacks; it looks for support in its titanic work to the creativity of the masses.

The elimination of Russia's age-old backwardness was related to a profound break with the agrarian structure of its economy which had developed over centuries. The creation of heavy industry within a short period of time required great effort and strength from our people.

What enormous amounts of labor and what colossal effort it took to turn poverty-ridden, backward, semi-literate Russia into a powerful, highly-developed industrial and socialist power with advanced science and technology responsible for achievements which in our time surprise and excite all mankind!

You and I have recently been witnesses to a new victory of Soviet science and technology in the exploration of outer space. The Venus-4 automatic station, which was created by the talent and labor of our scientists, engineers, workers and technicians, reached Venus, completed a landing and sent back to Earth unique information about the planet's atmosphere.

Mankind's dream of space flight and of direct exploration of the moon and the planets of the Solar system was first realized in our country.

The Great October Revolution and the socialist system have presented our scientists and engineers with the broadest possible opportunities for scientific and technical progress--for the achievement of brilliant victories in the work to reveal the secrets of nature and to use them for the benefit of mankind.

The policy of industrialization adopted by our party provided for the creation of a first class industrial system within a very short period of time; it resulted in growth in the productivity of public labor and a high rate of growth in the development of all sectors of the socialist economy. Socialist industrialization made it possible to strengthen the nation's economic and defense might. Unemployment, that terrible, age-old disease which we inherited from tsarist Russia, was completely eliminated during industrialization.

The success of socialist industrialization made it possible to carry out the Leninist plan for the organization of cooperatives in the countryside--the program for the socialist transformation of agriculture. The organization of millions of small, individual farms into major collective enterprises based on public ownership of the means of production constituted the most difficult task of socialist construction. However, this problem, too, was successfully resolved.

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The kolkhoz peasantry is a new social class. Its labor and mode of daily life are based on cooperative property. Enormous changes have taken place both in production relations between people and in the organization of agricultural labor, which has become collectivized. The changed nature of agricultural labor, which is now based on modern equipment, the increased level of culture and education and the improved skills of kolkhoz members--all this forms the new person in the village. The policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government is aimed at creating a powerful industrial base for socialist agriculture. This will make it possible to speed up the replacement of manual and unskilled labor by mechanized labor and to solve more rapidly the problem of how to bring agricultural labor closer to the labor at industrial enterprises.

In addition to the socio-economic transformations which have taken place in our country, major successes have been achieved in the area of socialist culture.

Since the very first days of its existence the Soviet state has considered one of its most important tasks to be the elevation of the Soviet people's cultural level. We have virtually eliminated illiteracy, the working people have broad access to all educational institutions, and a multi-million, genuinely people's intelligentsia has been created.

The Soviet intelligentsia constitutes a new type of intelligentsia, which is qualitatively different from the intelligentsia in capitalist society. It was raised by the Communist Party with a Marxist-Leninist world view, and it has boundless devotion to its ideals. In terms of its social composition, our intelligentsia has come from the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. The creation of outstanding personnel of the Soviet intelligentsia represents a great achievement of the socialist system.

Enormous changes have taken place in the actual composition of the working class and the peasantry. More than half of those who work in the national economy are people with higher or secondary education, who have high-level production skills.

Our socialist culture, which is new and advanced in its content, includes everything valuable from the spiritual heritage of the past, and everything progressive from modern world culture, and this wealth has been turned to the service of socialist construction. The flowering of Soviet culture and the formation of the workers' socialist consciousness serves as one of the most important conditions for the advancement of our Homeland along the path towards communism.

The solution of the nationalities question has been one of the most significant victories of our revolution. In the Soviet Union all nationalities have achieved genuinely equal rights. The Soviet Union

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has more than 100 peoples and nationalities. And all these nationalities and peoples feel that they have equal rights within the single family of the peoples of the Soviet Union. They all participate in the governing of the Soviet state. And under these conditions no national dissension arises nor can arise.

The union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is the world's first multi-national state in which the nations have been united on principles of equal rights and fraternal assistance. The accelerated economic and cultural development of peoples who were formerly quite backward is the embodiment of these principles.

If we analyze our national economic plans, then we shall see that from year to year they call for measures to accelerate the development of national regions which were formerly backward in an economic sense.

No capitalist country can provide this kind of solution to the nationalities problem, a solution which would effectively ensure the social equality of nationalities. This is possible only under a socialist system, thanks to the Leninist national policy of our party.

In all the years of Soviet power our economy has not known crises; moreover, its rate of development has been significantly higher than in capitalist countries. As a result of this high rate, the Soviet Union has become within a relatively short period of time a highly-industrialized country; it is number one in Europe in terms of the volume of industrial production and number two in the world. In terms of potential, natural resources and especially in terms of mineral reserves, our country is number one in the world.

The consistent implementation of the Leninist plan of socialist construction and steady growth in our production forces and national income provide the opportunity for systematic improvement in the people's material well-being and for increases in their living standard. This is reflected primarily in higher incomes for urban and rural workers, in systematic improvements in diet and in increased consumption of industrial goods. Using Vologodskaya Oblast as an example, it is easy to see how much the public's requirements have increased and how the demand for new industrial goods is growing.

The party and the government are working persistently to solve the housing problem. More than 500 million square meters of living space are scheduled to be built in cities, workers' housing projects and in rural areas during the current five-year plan. Widespread building has started in the countryside. We shall do everything possible to provide building materials to kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers to enable them to substantially improve their living conditions in the current five-year plan.

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The 23d Congress of the Communist Party has established as a goal the achievement of a significant increase in the national income, and this is reflected in the five-year plan, which is being successfully fulfilled. This creates the conditions for further growth in the nation's living standard and for the fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural demands of the Soviet people.

In recent years a substantial improvement in socialist production has been achieved. The incomes of blue- and white-collar workers have grown; moreover, the increases have been greatest among workers in the lowest income groups. A guaranteed labor payment has been introduced for kolkhoz members. Real per capita income has grown annually by 6-7 percent, and public consumption has increased correspondingly. People have begun to eat better and dress better. Every year 11 million working people move into new apartments or improve their housing conditions.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government will continue to devote constant attention to the issues concerning the people's material well-being.

The success which has been achieved by the Soviet people can be clearly seen in every republic, in every oblast of the country, including Vologodskaya Oblast. In the past Vologodskaya Province was industrially backward. It had only small enterprises for processing timber and producing animal fat. It was mainly cottage industry that had been developed. Despite the enormous expanses of land in the Vologda area, the peasants suffered from a lack of land because it belonged to mainly to the large landowners and kulaks. The working people of the province, both the peasantry and the working class, were poor and had no prospects of improving their life.

With their participation in the revolutionary movement the workers and peasants of Vologodskaya Province inscribed glorious pages in the history of the struggle against despotism and the arbitrariness of the autocracy, the violence and oppression of the large landowners and capitalists, the struggle for the victory of the new social system--socialism.

In the difficult days of the civil war the working people of the oblast performed many feats in the struggle against the internal and external counterrevolution, when the detachments of the Red Guard smashed the White Guard armies and interventionists and inflicted crippling blows against the enemies who attacked the Soviet Republic. The Soviet people holds sacred and carefully preserves the bright memory of the heroes of the civil war--M.S. Kedrov, M.K. Vetoshkin and K.A. Avksent'yevskiy.

In the dark years of the Great Patriotic War the workers of Vologodskaya Oblast, along with the entire Soviet people, repulsed the onslaught of the fascist German invaders. The following were awarded for courage

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and valor displayed in battle: 56,000 military orders and medals were awarded to people from this area; 140 titles of Hero of the Soviet Union were bestowed, with two people, Marshal I.S. Konev and pilot A.F. Klubov, having received it twice.

The people of Leningrad have many kind and noble words to say about the workers of Vologodskaya Oblast. During the blockade Leningraders constantly felt the assistance and concern of our state, which did everything possible for Leningrad when it was under seige. The working people of Vologodskaya Oblast gave enormous attention to hundreds of thousands of evacuated workers, to white-collar workers and members of the intelligentsia from Leningrad. Allow me to express once again great gratitude to the working people and organizations of Vologodskaya Oblast for their patriotic deeds.

The Great October Socialist Revolution fundamentally changed life in Vologodskaya Oblast. The oblast is now one of the nation's major industrial and agrarian regions. During the years of Soviet power modern heavy industry plants have been established; powerful, highly-mechanized enterprises for timber-felling and wood-processing have been built as have many enterprises of the food and light industries, including large-scale factories for the processing of flax.

Cherepovets now has in operation one of the nation's largest metallurgical plants. It is well known not only in our country, but also abroad; also well known are Magnitka, the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine, Krivorozhstal' and many other large metallurgical enterprises.

I recall that in the determination of the construction site for the metallurgical plant in Cherepovets a particular role was played by the prominent metallurgist, Academician I.P. Bardin, and the former minister of ferrous metallurgy, I.F. Tevosyan, who proved that it was advisable and necessary to build this plant to use the Pechora coking coals and the Kola iron ore.

The history of the Cherepovets Plant shows that the decision to build the metallurgical plant in your oblast was the correct one. Today the plant determines the development of machine building in the entire northwestern region of the country.

The Cherepovets plant has become a kind of university to teach all that is new and advanced in metallurgy. Workers from related enterprises in the nation and many foreign specialists come here for experience. In many of its indicators the Cherepovets plant exceeds the leading metallurgical plants, both foreign and domestic.

The plant has blast furnaces in operation. The production of high-quality rolled products has been fully mastered. The plant now produces more metal than was produced in all the plants of tsarist Russia. We are convinced that the Cherepovets plant will continue to develop

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successfully. The metallurgists need to increase the variety and to improve the quality of rolled products. They will also be working to develop batch production of fittings and zinc-plated metal sheets, and they will be building and putting into operation a powerful new blast furnace and an electrical steel smelting shop, as well as an installation for the continuous casting of steel, and two coking batteries.

Expanding the production of rolled steel products at the Cherepovets plant will make it possible to substantially improve supplies of hardware, tape and other precision rolled products for consumers in the northwest oblasts of the RSFSR and the Baltic republics.

The production of cold-rolled construction plate with an improved surface will have great significance for the development of the automobile industry. I think that we can say with confidence that the Cherepovets plant will meet the deadlines for supplying its sheet metal to the large automobile plant which is being built in Tol'yatti.

The collective of the Cherepovets plant has been entrusted with the task of supplying in addition pipe rolling plants with low-alloy sheet metal to manufacture gas pipeline materials. The nation is carrying out a large program to supply gas to industry and homes in cities and villages. Construction was started this year on the Ukhta-Torzhok pipeline, which will supply many cities and villages in Vologodskaya Oblast with natural gas as early as 1968. This will create favorable preconditions for the further development of the oblast's economy, for the growth of labor productivity and for improvements in the everyday life of the working people. The organizations of Vologodskaya Oblast must make the necessary preparations in good time to receive the northern gas for delivery to industrial enterprises and residences of the oblast's cities and villages.

The management of the plant, its party, trade union, Komsomol organizations and the entire collective (running into many thousands of people) of the Cherepovets metallurgical workers have performed great services in putting production capacities into operation quickly and in achieving high operational indicators for the plant.

Allow me to take advantage of the fact that we have representatives of the plant here today to send greetings through them to the wonderful collective of metallurgical workers and to express the hope that their achievements will serve as the foundation for further successes in the development of metallurgy. The plant has the opportunities and the reserves for this.

The workers of the forestry industry are making a great contribution to the development of the oblast's economy. The directives of the 23d CPSU Congress have set as a target an increase in the utilization level of wood and the wastes from saw mills and woodworking operations; another

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target calls for increased processing of wood from deciduous trees into various kinds of chip and fiber board and for increased output of pulp and paper products and of forestry-based chemical products. The achievement of these goals has particular significance for Vologodskaya Oblast because the opportunities for felling coniferous trees are limited.

Agriculture plays an enormous role in the economy of Vologodskaya Oblast. For historical reasons agriculture here specializes in dairy farming, flax production and now the cultivation of potatoes. Grain crops have also become important here.

The economic and organizational measures which the party and the government have taken to improve agriculture are favorably reflected in the growth of the oblasts' agricultural production. The kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's are now supplied with better equipment. Each year the oblast receives more and more tractors, agricultural equipment and fertilizer--everything that is required for the rapid development of agriculture. It should be noted that Vologodskaya Oblast almost never experiences drought. This makes it possible for specialists to devise a well-thought out system of measures to obtain on an annual basis high crop yields and good productivity from animal husbandry and other branches of agricultural production.

The growth of production and the increase in sales to the state have significantly strengthened the economy of the kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's. The kolkhoz's now have opportunities to build--using their own incomes--cultural and community facilities and to acquire the necessary machinery and equipment. The profitability of sovkhoz's has increased and the volume of capital investment in farm and residential construction has grown.

The kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's are completing the agricultural year with success. A good harvest has been brought in, and more meat, milk and eggs have been produced than in previous years. The plans for the sale of grain, potatoes and animal products have been overfulfilled.

Good conditions have been created in the kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's of the oblast for the development of all sectors of agriculture. The production of potatoes and other vegetables should be developed, along with other basic sectors of agriculture, to meet the needs of the oblast's growing urban population.

The results of the agricultural year give us reason to congratulate the party and Soviet organizations of Vologodskaya Oblast, the kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers and agricultural specialists on their labor successes and to express the hope that they will fight even more persistently for further improvements in the agriculture of Vologodskaya Oblast.

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Vologodskaya Oblast has favorable conditions for flax growing, and it is one of the top areas in the RSFSR for flax fiber production.

In prerevolutionary Russia the production of flax was based exclusively on hand labor and primitive agricultural equipment. Industry now provides the flax growers with special machinery for the cultivation and processing of flax. The government recently adopted a decree which stipulates additional measures to stimulate the development of flax cultivation. We need, and especially now, the high-quality flax which is required for the production of high-quality textiles. Now, when there is great material interest in cultivating high-quality flax, the members of the kolkhoz's and the workers of the sovkhoz's will undoubtedly do everything possible to ensure that Vologda flax is the best in the Soviet Union.

The development of auxiliary enterprises and cottage industries is of great significance under the particular circumstances of Vologodskaya Oblast. This will make it possible to utilize the rural population during the off-season, when it is not engaged in agricultural work. The development of auxiliary industries is a serious source for the increased production of consumer goods, building and other materials, and at the same time it is an additional source of income for kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. It is essential for the oblast organizations to work out measures for the development and specialization of auxiliary enterprises at kolkhoz's.

Allow me to express my confidence that the agricultural workers of the award-winning Vologodskaya Oblast will cope successfully with the tasks facing them.

Comrades! The Communist Party shows constant concern for improvements in the living standard of the Soviet people. The material well-being of the Vologodskaya Oblast workers is steadily growing, as it is for the entire population of the country. The wages and salaries of the oblast's blue- and white-collar workers have increased more than 3-fold in comparison with the pre-war level, and the real incomes of kolkhoz members have increased even more. The sale of goods per capita has increased more than 5-fold.

Great success has also been achieved in the development of culture. Before the revolution Vologodskaya Province had one institution of higher education; Vologodskaya Oblast now has five institutions of higher education and nearly 30 schools for specialized secondary education, which train many specialists for the national economy.

At present the workers of the oblast face major targets for the further development of industry, agriculture and the fulfillment of the 1968 plan--the plan for the third year of the five-year plan, which will largely determine the degree of success achieved in the implementation of the targets for the entire five-year plan.

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The maximum possible improvement in the economic effectiveness of public production constitutes one of the most important issues in the work of our economic, party and Soviet organs. It concerns agriculture as well as industry. Particular attention must be devoted to improving capital construction, to reducing the amount of time it takes to build and to put finished facilities into operation, to increasing the quality of construction work and to reducing the cost of construction.

The Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government are firmly convinced that the working people of Vologodskaya Oblast, under the leadership of the party's oblast committee and the oblast soviet of workers' deputies will further develop socialist competition to implement the tasks set by the 23d CPSU Congress, and with their work they will make a new contribution to the further growth of our economy and to the consolidation of the country's defense capability.

Comrades! The foreign policy which is being carried out by the Communist Party and the Soviet government is aimed at ensuring peaceful conditions of life. This Leninist course has been followed with unchanging consistency throughout the entire history of the Soviet state.

Soviet foreign policy--which is a policy of peace and support for progressive revolutionary forces--is being carried out under conditions of an acute and complex struggle. A little more than 20 years has passed since the end of the second world war. But during this period hotbeds of military conflict have emerged in various regions of the world as a result of intrigues by the imperialists. More than once the imperialist circles have created a situation of military threat at the borders of the socialist countries. Everywhere they have increased tension and fanned the arms race.

Only the defense might of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries and their willingness to defend their achievements and to hold high the banner raised by October is what restrains potential aggressors from unleashing a new war. The Soviet nation has had an enormous role to play in the achievement of those fundamental changes which characterize the situation in the world today. For the first time in history a new alignment of forces has developed: now it is not imperialism, but rather socialism in alliance with the revolutionary movements and progressive circles of all countries, which is becoming a factor which determines the direction of world development.

However, the changes which have taken place in the world by no means signify that the struggle which is taking place between imperialism and socialism on an international scale is becoming less intense. The imperialists are undertaking aggressive acts first in one then in another region in an attempt to restore the former alignment of forces. Their policy in Vietnam and in the Middle East is subordinated to this goal.

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For American imperialism South Vietnam is a kind of strategic summit; having surmounted it, they intend to suppress the aspiration of the Vietnamese people for freedom, and to secure their position in Southeast Asia. Toward this end the USA has sent to Vietnam an army of nearly half a million men. American planes are bombing cities and villages in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

American aggression in Vietnam has continued for nearly three years. The ruling circles of the USA are making a mistake in thinking that they can use a destructive war to force the Vietnamese people to accept the American conditions of peace. The people of Vietnam are invincible, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, like any sovereign country will not carry on negotiations to which they have been forced by bombings and the strength of arms.

In August of this year the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, which directs the struggle of the South Vietnamese people, adopted a new program at its congress.

If the U.S. government truly wanted to find a solution to the Vietnam question, it would stop the aggression and bombing of North Vietnam, and it would recognize the program of the National Liberation Front and in this way clear the way for talks. These actions would lead to a general relaxation of tension, and this is what the peoples of the world are hoping to see from the United States. But American soldiers continue to be sent to Southeast Asia in order to destroy cities and burn down villages, to kill the peaceful population and to conduct a "dirty" war. All of this infamy lies with the government of the United States and has given rise to an ever growing protest movement in America itself and the indignation of peace-loving forces throughout the world.

We know well that a majority of the American people are against the war in Vietnam and are completely uninterested in carrying the burden of the expenditures related to it, which annually total 20-25 billion dollars. The U.S. forces which are fighting against continuation of the aggression are becoming more and more active.

The Soviet Union, which is guided by principles of internationalism and and by the interests of protecting the peace, is extending assistance and support to fighting Vietnam. Our policy is aimed at ending American aggression. An agreement concerning military and economic assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was signed recently. In directing modern weapons to heroic Vietnam, the Soviet people know that the Vietnamese people will carry the struggle through to the end--until the American aggressors are expelled completely from their sacred land. Our country is meeting its international obligation with respect to the fraternal people of Vietnam.

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In analyzing the events in another region of the world--the Middle East--where Israel has undertaken aggression against independent Arab states--it is impossible not to come to the definite conclusion that the Israeli militarists, and especially those who stand behind them, are constructing far-reaching plans. They have calculated that an attack on the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan will change in a fundamental way the alignment of forces in this region, and will undermine the movement of the Arab peoples to strengthen their national independence.

But these calculations were wrong. At the most critical moment of the Middle East crisis the Soviet Union demanded a cessation of military actions. The Israeli militarists could continue to seize Arab lands, but they did not dare to ignore the position of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The aggressors had to stop. However, although the aggression was halted, the situation in the Middle East has remained up to now extremely tense. The troops of Israel and the Arab states stand face to face, and military actions can be resumed at any moment. This is a dangerous situation because it is fraught with serious consequences and carries within itself the possibility of becoming a focus of a larger war.

One cannot fail to see that the imperialist circles have not yet abandoned their hopes to carry out their plans in the Middle East. Under these circumstances the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, and especially the Arab peoples, must show great vigilance.

The Soviet Union favors a political settlement for the crisis which has emerged. Our position is determined by the desire to eliminate the conflict by peaceful means, without a resumption of military actions. This kind of political solution can only be carried out in one way, and that is by the cessation of the illegal occupation of the Arab territories and the withdrawal of Israeli troops to the boundaries which existed before the start of the conflict.

An ever greater number of countries now favors a political solution to the Middle East problem. The faster a solution is found the faster there will be an end to the possibility that a military confrontation might emerge. This is in the interests of all the states in this region and of nations outside this region, as well.

Vietnam and the Middle East are the most critical fronts in the struggle for peace and against imperialist aggression. But in a larger sense the front of this struggle is everywhere. It manifests itself in the confrontation of opposing interests in any major issue of the present time, and in the active opposition to the forces of socialism and democracy by the forces of imperialism and reaction. Recently there have been indications of a revival on the most extreme flank of the internal reaction, among the various fascist groups.

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As the social contradictions of American society, especially the contradictions related to the national issue, become more acute, the movement of the extreme rightist forces manifests itself more and more noticeably in the political life of the USA. It is these forces and the monopoly capital circles which stand behind them that are the shameless supporters of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The racists and fascist elements in the United States subject the Negro population to appalling discrimination; they do not stop short of mass shootings of unarmed people or the destruction of whole city blocks. In Greece a military junta has come to power with the direct support of aggressive circles in the USA and NATO. A military-fascist dictatorship, which provokes the just condemnation of people of good will, has been established in the country where the word "democracy" was born. The ruling military clique, in its attempts to curry favor with its "patrons," conducts a policy which leads to the exacerbation of the situation in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Progressive forces everywhere are conducting a struggle against the fascist danger. People remember the lessons of history, which require them to be vigilant.

The growth of the Neo-Nazi forces in the FRG, which are grouped around the so-called National-Democratic Party, causes particular alarm. The Neo-fascist party has now seized seats in six of the 10 West German lands. As the party's leaders state, their agenda calls for moving party representatives into the Bundestag and into the candidacy for the position of president of the FRG. It cannot be denied that the threat of a new mass Nazi party in West Germany is becoming quite real.

The question arises as to how a fascist threat could once again appear two decades after the defeat of German fascism in the center of Europe. It is not difficult to answer this question; this is in the final analysis the result of the policy which the ruling circles of the FRG have carried out since the very first days of the Bonn government.

The foreign policy of West Germany is a revanchist, anti-democratic policy, which proceeds from a re-examination of the post-war boundaries of Europe; it is used to rationalize Bonn's illegal claims to West Berlin and it is characterized by the desire of the FRG government to assume the right to act on behalf of the entire German people.

The FRG is attempting to isolate the German Democratic Republic; it is undertaking various kinds of maneuvers in order to beat a wedge in the GDR's relations with the other socialist nations. But the Bonn rulers are counting in vain on the success of these maneuvers. The revanchist intrigues of the FRG ruling circles in regard to socialist Germany present a serious challenge to the peace and security of Europe; they always have and they always shall meet with the necessary rebuff on the part of the socialist countries.

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The countries of socialism are marching in the vanguard of the forces which act to support peace, democracy and socialism. They are attempting to do everything possible to strengthen the fighting alliance of these forces since this alliance today provides the main guarantee of the victory of the cause of peace and progress. Naturally, everyone who interferes with the strengthening of the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries acts contrary to the interests of the international communist movement and moves toward the positions of its enemies. In China, the Mao Zedong group, which betrayed Marxism-Leninism, has started down this path.

The Mao Zedong group sets itself up in opposition to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to the entire world communist movement. It takes a perfidious line on the most acute issue of foreign policy--the issue of aid to the Vietnamese people in their efforts to repel American aggression. Mao Zedong and his circle are not stingy in their loud statements about the struggle against American imperialism; but at the same time they refuse to join with the other socialist countries in extending aid to Vietnam. And, in fact, they are doing everything possible to hamper the granting of this aid, which could lead to the defeat of the aggressors. These actions objectively constitute complicity with the forces of imperialism.

The policy which the Mao Zedong group is attempting to carry out, signifies a struggle against the communist movement and a betrayal of the ideals of communism.

Neither imperialist intrigues nor the serious complications of the situation which arise from these intrigues, nor the betrayal by the Mao Zedong group are in a position to stop the course of history. We can say that the forces of socialism and progress are increasing and growing stronger. The might of the Soviet Union and the socialist nations is growing. Their political, economic and social successes are increasing, and these successes exert an enormous revolutionizing influence throughout the world. The authority of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is increasing steadily.

On the eve of the great holiday of our people--the 50th anniversary of the Soviet state--we look back on the path that we have traveled and we are justified in noting with pride the achievements of Soviet foreign policy. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is active. But Soviet foreign policy is active not because we want to take positions in order to impose our will on others. The goal of our policy is rather to ensure peaceful conditions for socialist construction, to create the most favorable situation for the entire socialist community. It is a policy of peace, a policy in defense of the sovereign right of all peoples to independent development. It meets with the full attention and profound sympathy of all peoples.

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Our socialist economy and our glorious armed forces provide a firm foundation for the active and peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR. Our economy serves in full measure the cause of peace, and our party and the Soviet state, proceeding from the interests of the Soviet people, are doing and will continue to do everything possible to strengthen it.

Comrades! Soviet power has reached its 50th anniversary full of strength, powerful and mature. The Soviet people and all progressive humanity rejoice at how the world's first socialist state has flourished.

The Soviet people have much to take pride in and much to rejoice over. But we also have many unsolved problems, and we must make a great effort to successfully reach the targets of communist construction.

The workers, peasants and intelligentsia of Vologodskaya Oblast in their work show a high level of responsibility before the Soviet Homeland. The party and the people value your efforts highly. The order of Lenin, awarded to the oblast is the best evidence of this.

Allow me to make known the text of the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "For successes achieved by the working people of the oblast in the development of industry, agriculture and in cultural construction Vologodskaya Oblast is awarded the Order of Lenin."

Permit me to present to the oblast at the request of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the Soviet government the Order of Lenin.

Comrades! Once again I congratulate you warmly and sincerely on this high award, and I wish all the workers, kolkhoz members and members of the intelligentsia of Vologodskaya Oblast new success in their labor for the good of the Homeland.

Glory to the working people of the award-winning Vologodskaya Oblast!

Long live our powerful Soviet Union--the homeland of Great October!

Long live our glorious Communist Party--the source of inspiration and the organizer of our victories!

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IN SUPPORT OF FURTHER ACCELERATION IN THE GROWTH OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION

From a speech at the 16th Minsk Oblast Party Conference on
14 February 1968

Dear Comrades! Permit me to convey warm and sincere greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government to you, the delegates of the 16th oblast party conference and through you to all communists of the Minsk Oblast party organization.

We have heard an interesting report by Comrade I. Ye. Polyakov, the first secretary of the Minsk Oblast party committee, as well as many interesting presentations by representatives from party organizations of industrial enterprises, kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's, scientific organizations, educational institutions, Soviet and economic organizations.

The presentations clearly reflected the remarkable achievements and successes of the working people of Minsk Oblast and of Minsk, and they contained criticism of the inadequacies which exist in the operations of individual organizations. In the course of the discussion proposals were made on how to improve the work of all units of the party, state and economic system. The existence of unused reserves and potential for the successful implementation of the five-year plan targets was pointed out.

The national economy of the country is developing successfully and in accordance with the directives of the 23d party congress on the five-year plan. The rate of growth in the national economy has increased. And on this basis the population's real income has increased. The rates of development in the production of the means of consumption (Group "B") and the production of the means of production (Group "A") have come closer together. The production of agricultural output has increased. A series of measures related to the solution of major social problems has been carried out. The incomes of the less-well-provided-for strata of the population have increased. A new step has been taken in bringing together the living standards of the rural and urban population. The industries which provide domestic services for the population are being developed.

In the first two years of the five-year plan the growth of industrial production amounted to approximately 20 percent. The rate of development which has been achieved creates the conditions which make it possible to fulfill ahead of schedule the five-year plan targets for the growth of industrial output.

The collectives in a majority of enterprises in industry, agriculture and other sectors have pledged to fulfill the year's plan by 7 November 1970.

A grandiose program of capital construction is being carried out by the nation. Fixed capital worth nearly 100 billion rubles have been put into operation in two years. About 800 new large-scale industrial enterprises have been built. New energy facilities with the capacity of 20 million kilowatts have been put into operation; this amount is equal

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to the established capacity of all the electrical power stations which existed in our country at the end of 1950. At the Krasnoyarsk Hydro-electric Power Plant, which will be largest in the world, the first two hydraulic generators, each with a capacity of 500,000 kilowatts, have gone into service; the capacity of each of these generators is equal to that of the Dnepr GES.

Four blast furnaces with a total capacity of 5.4 million tons of cast iron per year have started operating at ferrous metallurgy enterprises. These include the blast furnace at the Krivoy Rog Metallurgical Plant. One of these blast furnaces will yield a volume of cast iron which is equal to half of the total output of cast iron which was produced by all the blast furnaces in our country in 1928.

The capacity of the steel smelting units which have gone into service in these two years amounts to 6.5 million tons of steel per year. In this time rolling mills have opened with a total capacity that is more than twice the amount of rolled products of ferrous metallurgy produced in 1928.

Chemical enterprises have put into operation capacities for the production of 6.7 million tons of mineral fertilizers per year. This is twice as much as the total production of mineral fertilizer in 1940. The first unit of the Soviet Union's largest pipeline, which runs from Central Asia to the center of the country, and the 1000-kilometer pipeline running from Ust'-Balyk to Omsk have started to operate.

The cement industry has put into service cement plants which will produce as much cement as all the cement plants in the country produced in 1928.

Major enterprises have been built for the light, food, milk and dairy sectors of industry; the party and government attach great importance to the development of these sectors.

We must note with great satisfaction the substantial work accomplished in agriculture. After the March (1965) plenum of the CC CPSU, large-scale measures were taken to improve agriculture. Rural workers have shown greater interest in increasing production and in selling agricultural output to the state. The material base of the sovkhoz's and kolkhoz's has significantly improved. The rate of development in all agricultural sectors, and especially in animal husbandry, has increased.

The growth of material production in the nation has been the foundation for the further improvement in the well-being of the working people. In the first two years of the five-year plan the people's standard of living has grown more rapidly than in previous years and more rapidly than called for by the 23d CPSU Congress. In this period the average wage of blue- and white-collar workers increased by 8 percent, while the monetary and "natural" or in-kind incomes which kolkhoz members derive from public production is approximately 20 percent.

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In the current year the incomes of the population will increase by more than 6 billion rubles as a result of measures to increase wages, improve pensions and to expand the system of benefits.

Along with the growth in people's monetary incomes, the retail trade turnover of state and cooperative commerce is increasing. In these two years it has grown 19 percent, as against the 15.6 percent called for by the five-year plan. The growth of trade turnover is related primarily to an increase in the production of goods as result of the expansion of capacities in light industry and the food industry.

The public's demand for all goods is now being met more fully, even the demand for those goods which are purchased abroad. Before the war we imported 1,300 tons of coffee per year, and now we import about 30,000 tons per year; we purchased a little more than 7,000 tons of cocoa beans for chocolate products, and now it is more than 80,000 tons per year; previously we imported hardly any citrus fruits, grapes or other fruits, and now we buy more than 650,000 tons.

The Communist Party and the government attach particular significance to the housing problem. Residential construction is taking place at a rapid rate. In the years 1966-1967 more than 200 million square meters of total living area was provided through the construction of residential buildings. This made it possible to improve the living conditions of 22 million persons.

Enormous resources have been directed from the state budget and other sources to socio-cultural measures. In the first two years of the five-year plan more than 100 billion rubles have been spent for these purposes; half of this amount has been for education.

What is the main priority for the remaining three years of the current five-year plan? It is primarily to increase the national income. In the first two years of the five-year plan the average annual increase in the national income amounted to 7 percent. In order to increase the Soviet people's standard of living more rapidly it is essential to raise in every possible way the effectiveness of our production and in this way to work toward higher rate of growth in the national income.

The rate of growth in the national income depends on many factors, and primarily on how fully and correctly fixed capital is used. It is essential to increase the capital-output ratio, i.e., to obtain more income for every ruble invested in fixed production capital. The capital-output ratio is influenced, for example, by how correctly construction sites are chosen for new enterprises. It is essential to take account of many different kinds of data such as the supply of energy, the availability of manpower, proximity to product consumption areas and sources of raw materials. We cannot manage without careful socio-economic analysis. Incidentally, some managers frequently choose

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construction sites without taking these factors into account; they make their decision solely on the basis of whether a construction organization exists there.

For several years our rate of return on investment was falling. In industry it has now stabilized, however. It is essential to work for an increase in the rate of return on investment throughout the national economy; this would provide an enormous savings in capital investment for the state.

Increases in labor productivity have great significance for the growth of national income. We must achieve a sharp increase in labor productivity in all sectors of the national economy.

The level of productivity in public labor depends primarily on the organization of the commercial production processes, and speaking more specifically, on the organizers of production, on those who have been entrusted with the responsibility for the organization and management of production.

The problems of labor organization and production management must constantly be the focus of attention by the plant or factory manager, the shop foreman, the kolkhoz chairman and the sovkhoz director. Only a carefully planned and genuinely scientific organization of production can yield the necessary results and bring into operation enormous internal reserves of the national economy, which in many cases are still very badly used at present.

I will cite one example. Last summer, when I was returning to the city from Vnukovo Airport I noted that approximately half of the trucks we saw were empty. The drivers were at the wheel working, fuel was being consumed, rubber was being used up, and the vehicle was being amortized, and all of this to no avail: there were expenditures but no income. A similar situation exists nearly everywhere, including here in your republic. All this reflects poor organization in haulage, and an irresponsible attitude toward motor transport on the part of many economic managers. The elimination of empty runs will provide a significant reduction in transportation expenses.

Similar instances can also be found in other sectors of the national economy. Correct organization and skillful management are the main and deciding factors in the struggle to increase the productivity of public labor.

Scientific and technical progress exerts an enormous influence on labor productivity. The achievements of our science and technology have undoubtedly had an important effect, especially in the production of modern machinery and equipment and the development of the latest technological processes. And the enterprises and scientific institutes of Belorussia, and specifically those in Minsk, have accomplished a great deal in the acceleration of technical progress.

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In order to increase labor productivity it is essential to switch to the production of more powerful tractors as they are more economical to operate. The managers of the Minsk Motor Vehicle Plant, designers and engineers, must work toward a rapid solution to the problem of how to increase the capacity of the D-50 engine.

Your republic is building enterprises to produce polyethylene, caprolactam and lavsan. These will be very large-scale enterprises. The production of polyethylene is not in the start-up phase; and the engineers, technicians and workers must bring the enterprise to full capacity more rapidly. The enterprise for the production of caprolactam is scheduled to start operations in 1969. However, it is possible to advance this date: the equipment has almost all been delivered. Every day of construction that can be saved is precious to us. At present we are producing in the USSR about 100,000 tons of caprolactam. And your plant alone will produce 50,000 tons of it. This will increase 1.5-fold the capron fiber capacity. If we translate this into the production of cloth, we find that this amount of fiber will yield approximately 400 million meters of cloth per year. You are also building a plan to produce lavsan. It will produce 50,000 tons of lavsan per year. This amount of fiber will yield cloth worth approximately 2 billion rubles. For this reason it is essential to do everything possible to put these three major chemical enterprises into operation quickly.

In addition, you have under construction now fertilizer production units which will have enormous capacities.

I would like to express my confidence that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, the republic's Council of Ministers and all of the organizations of Minsk Oblast will take measures to put these major construction projects into operation on time or ahead of schedule.

We must work with great urgency to apply the latest achievements of science and technology to production. Technical progress is now developing at such a rate that today's highest technical achievements may be overtaken by some newer and better tomorrow. We cannot settle for a system under which many years may often pass between the start of scientific and technical development of an idea to its application in production.

It would be short-sighted of us not to utilize foreign achievements of science and technology as well. It is absolutely essential for the managers of any production unit, as well as for scientific and design personnel to know about everything new and to use it in practice. We must make use of the best in world technology.

The management of modern production becomes difficult if the latest computer equipment is not used. This equipment makes it possible to solve the problems of growth in labor productivity and provide for large savings in time and labor in the planning and management of the economy.

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In computing operations the electronic equipment of today has achieved speeds which would have seemed fantastic only a short while ago. It is difficult to overestimate the benefit which can be obtained from the use of this equipment by the national economy. By using computers, scientists obtain information in minutes and even seconds from automatic instruments which are carried rapidly into outer space. At the same time some enterprise managers experience long delays in finding out about the course of the production process. Such delayed information cannot provide them with much operational assistance in the management process. These machines can replace the labor of an enormous number of people who are now employed in bookkeeping and computing operations. They can keep track uninterruptedly of production processes and regulate them automatically. The widespread utilization of computer equipment in planning will contribute to the process of finding optimal solutions to national economic problems, and it will help to ensure that targets are met with the lowest possible expenditure of public labor. Electronic equipment is capable of calculating and comparing rapidly and accurately a large number of alternative solutions, and this makes it possible for planning personnel to choose the best one. Electronics opens up the prospect of a kind of increase in labor productivity which would substantially accelerate the development of our economy.

The "Minsk" computers accomplish a great deal of work, but they, like other types of computers, must be further improved.

The issue of production quality must be considered in close relationship to technical progress. The higher the quality the more reliable the product and the lower the production losses. The state and every individual benefits from this.

For this reason it is necessary to firmly direct the attention of the economic organs to the quality of output. This problem is acute because there are certain enterprises which frequently still produce goods of low quality and do not take into account the rising demands of consumers. Systematic and planned work is necessary to update production and to replace obsolete products with new ones.

The working people of Belorussia have accomplished a great deal of work in creating a number of new branches of industry, in the chemical, tractor and automobile industries, in the production of artificial fibers and mineral fertilizers and in certain branches of light industry and the food industry. These new branches exert an enormous influence on the economy and on the technical level of production and the quality of output.

The republic has developed outstanding personnel--workers and engineering-technical employees--who are capable of solving the most complex problems of scientific and technical progress. Allow me to wish you, comrades, further success for the good of our Homeland.

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Comrades! The 23d party congress set before agriculture the task of increasing the volume of production derived from land cultivation and animal husbandry. In the first two years of the five-year plan a number of measures have been taken to stimulate economically the development of agricultural production and to increase its effectiveness. Substantial changes have been made in the proportion of national income and material resources which are devoted to agriculture. This concerns primarily the improvement of the conditions for the realization by kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's of their commodity output and for their acquisition of industrial goods. The incomes of kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's in the Belorussian SSR obtained from the increase in the state's purchase price for agricultural output increased in 1965 and 1966 by more than 440 million rubles in comparison with 1964. This has had a favorable effect on the growth of agricultural production.

In the current five-year plan nearly 1.2 billion rubles have been allocated for the development of agriculture in Belorussia; this is greater than 1.5-fold more than in the last five-year plan, and it represents a 2-fold increase for land reclamation, a very important aspect of the republic's agriculture. Reclamation work must constantly be the subject of attention by party and soviet organs in Belorussia and by all kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers. The reclamation of land, and especially of peat-bogs, is extremely effective. The correct use of drained lands quickly repays the expenditures which have been made.

The problems of providing public services and amenities to the villages and of improving the living and socio-cultural conditions of kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers are inextricably linked to the growth of economic effectiveness in agricultural production. The solution of these problems requires major material expenditures and serious labor efforts. Strengthening the economy of the kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's makes it possible to direct--in larger measure than before--resources from the incomes of the farms themselves for these purposes.

At the present time the rural workers have many urgent concerns to attend to--they must get the equipment ready for the spring sowing, sort the seeds and haul manure to the fields. Allow me to express my confidence that the working people of Minsk Oblast will not spare any effort or energy to reach the party targets for the development of agriculture.

Comrades, economic reform constitutes an important aspect of the party's economic policy. The purpose of the reform is to achieve a higher rate of growth in public production, to increase its effectiveness and to accelerate scientific and technical progress; all of this is to serve as the basis for further improvement in the people's living standard.

Economic reform is a large and complex matter. It is designed to bring methods for planning and the system of material incentives into line with the requirements of the current stage of the development of

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a socialist economy. In the transition to the new system of separate enterprises there must be no working in spurts or undue haste. Careful preparation is required.

The enterprises which were put under the new system of economic management have achieved high rates of production growth; they are overfulfilling the additional commitments which they have made, and they have increased their profitability as well as made better use of fixed capital. This is evidence that the new system of planning and incentives is viable and correct. It is in the interests of society, the enterprises and of every worker.

Whole branches of industry are now being shifted to operations according to the new system. The reform has also started in transportation, the sovkhoz's and municipal and domestic services.

We need to study the experience of the enterprises which have shifted to the new system; we must discover the weak spots and find ways to improve them.

Enterprises are now creating significant economic incentive funds. Their correct utilization provides a great material incentive for every worker employee to improve his work. The material incentive funds must be used to stimulate the workers' interest in improving the quality of output, to improve labor productivity and to apply new equipment. Material incentives must be combined with various forms of moral incentives which play a large role in our socialist society.

The most important tasks of the forthcoming period include the further acceleration of the rate of growth in material production, the development of new deposits of natural resources, the strengthening of the nation's industrial potential and the increasing of productivity in agriculture in order to more fully satisfy the public's vital needs.

The use of new equipment and the improvement of the forms and methods of economic management must be used to achieve significant growth in labor productivity and in this way to increase the national income and increase appreciably the people's living standard.

Comrades! The successful resolution of the problems related to the creation of the material-technical base of communism are inseparably linked to the ideological-political work which is being carried out by the party organizations among the masses of working people. We must strengthen and improve our work in this area.

We are talking about the work of instilling in the Soviet people a communist attitude toward labor and public property, about the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world view, the ideological conviction and devotion to the high ideals of communism, and about the work to instill the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

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Our party consistently stands for the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. But this principle applies only to relations between nations. As for ideology, there is no peaceful coexistence and there can be none. Socialist ideology and the ideology of the bourgeoisie are irreconcilable. The struggle of these ideologies is one of the most important forms of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The content of present-day reactionary ideology is militant anti-communism, hatred toward the peoples who are liberating themselves from the capitalist and colonial yoke and the desire to perpetuate social, national and race slavery. We communists, along with all honest people on the earth, want to destroy this slavery forever. It is impossible to reconcile the ideology of the fighters for freedom and the equality of peoples with the ideology of oppressors and slave-holders.

"Communists consider it a contemptible act to hide their views and intentions," stated Marx and Engels in "The Communist Manifesto." The open and honest statement by communists of their views has always called down on them the furious hatred of all forces of the old world. How much persecution and poisonous slander K. Marx and F. Engels endured in those times when scientific communism was only emerging. What scurrilous attacks were directed against our party and its leader, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, when the ideas of communism were being implemented in our country, which was becoming a real force in one-sixth of the world!

The enemies of communism see how the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and all the countries of the great socialist community are growing and becoming stronger. They see that the Soviet economy is advancing confidently, that the standard of living of the peoples in socialist countries is increasing and the ideas of communism are becoming more and more attractive in the eyes of the working people throughout the world.

Although the capitalists know from experience that the Soviet people cannot be overcome by military or economic pressure, they nonetheless continue to nurture more and more new aggressive plans. And ideological diversions against the USSR and the other socialist countries are included in these plans. Our enemies use any and all channels, even the dirtiest, to spread their propaganda for bourgeois society, to slander the Soviet system and the Soviet way of life. The ideologues of anticommunism dream of beating a wedge between the generations of Soviet people and of stirring up nationalistic and other prejudices.

It is essential to remember that our ideological enemies are experienced and perfidious. At times they may confuse people who are not experienced in politics or have not been tempered in the school of life. Of course, we are talking about individuals, but after all every person is precious to us. Many Western radio stations conduct broadcasts in Russian; by clever and refined actions, they present their listeners with slander against our country in hidden form. Nor can we fail to take

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into account the situation which has developed in the communist movement as a result of the subversive, schismatic, openly anti-Soviet activity of the Mao Zedong group. All this should be kept in mind as we work persistently to improve our ideological-political work among the masses, and the forms and methods of this work; through it we provide a timely and well-reasoned rebuff to the ideologues of anticommunism.

The indoctrination of Soviet citizens and the satisfaction of their growing spiritual needs is a challenge not only for workers of the ideological front. It is the duty of every communist, of all party, Komsomol and trade union organizations and of all Soviet society. We should not walk away from difficult questions; instead, we should answer them skillfully, truthfully and convincingly, regardless of whether these questions concern our internal life, moral problems or the international situation.

Two free days a week have been established in our country. This was done in the interests of the working people in order to create for them better conditions for study and cultural development, for the upbringing of their children and for recreation. But in order for these conditions to be fully utilized it is essential to improve the operation of all cultural institutions: theaters, clubs, libraries, sports facilities, cinemas, radio, television and the press. This is of primary concern to the party and soviet organizations in every city and village, at every enterprise and in every kolkhoz. Initiative, a feeling of responsibility for the assigned task and concern for people are needed.

In the coming period our ideological work will take place under the sign of two outstanding events for which the Soviet people and all progressive humanity are preparing. They are the forthcoming 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. The names of Marx and Lenin are linked with the most outstanding revolutionary deeds, the most grandiose liberation battles and victories, won by the working people over their oppressors. These names are infinitely precious to all peoples of the earth; they have become a banner for the revolutionary reorganization of the world, a symbol of the victory of communism.

A direct and inseparable link exists between the 50th anniversary of October, which the Soviet people and the workers of all countries have triumphantly celebrated, and these important forthcoming dates. The results of the half-century of the Soviet Union's development, and the experience of the other socialist countries provide convincing confirmation that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism has withstood the test of time. This teaching is invincible because it is true!

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government devote a great deal of attention in their work to foreign policy issues, to the development and implementation of measures aimed at

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solving the main foreign policy objective determined by the 23d CPSU Congress--the ensuring of peaceful conditions for the building of a communist society in our country. Our party and the government analyze carefully the international situation, which has become noticeably more complicated in recent times. This has been caused primarily by the U.S. expansion of the war in Vietnam, by the provocations against Cambodia and Laos, by the aggressive actions of Israel in the Middle East, by the dangerous development of political life in West Germany and by the provocations of the American military clique in the area of Korea and the Japanese Sea. There are quite a few other regions, too, where the situation is uneasy and a military confrontation could break out at any moment.

The scale of the conflicts which arise first in one and then in another region of the world varies. But the fundamental causes which give rise to these conflicts are the same everywhere, and they are infringements by the imperialists on the freedom and independence of peoples, attempts to interfere in their internal affairs and to impose on them the imperialists' own will and dictates.

As a result of all this a complex and acute struggle is developing in the world. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are in the front ranks of those who are organizing the rebuff to the aggressive politics of imperialism. This arises from our principled Leninist policy in support of peoples whose freedom is threatened by the imperialists. This is in line with our interest in strengthening the general peace.

If we examine the international situation in general at the present time, we can see that imperialism has not been successful in achieving its goals in even one sector.

It should be said that the growing aggressiveness is not an indicator that the imperialist camp is growing stronger. The development there is taking place under conditions of worsening internal contradictions, conflicts of interest among monopolistic groups, and the manifestation of centrifugal tendencies within the military-political and economic blocs. The aggressive policy of imperialism leads to an intensification of the crisis in its financial system. The pound sterling has become significantly devalued. The dollar is unsteady. Nearly all the capitalist countries are experiencing serious financial difficulties. In the search for a way out of its difficulties imperialism goes on to new adventures which intensify international tension.

But, as Marxist-Leninists we, of course, cannot simplify the situation. Imperialism still has at its disposal great economic and military potential.

The Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government soberly evaluate the entire complexity of the international situation, and in the interests of ensuring peace and peaceful construction they show tireless concern to design and produce the best possible defense equipment, to supply it to the armed forces and to increase the battle readiness of these forces.

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In a few days the Soviet people will celebrate an important date--the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. We can be proud of our powerful armed forces, our glorious soldiers, who are always ready to repel any aggressor and any threat, no matter where it comes from.

The United States of America continues to expand the aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. The policy of resolving the Vietnamese question by military means and military victory in Vietnam has become a decisive aspect of overall U.S. policy. But the American imperialists have not been successful in gaining victory over the Vietnamese people, and we are confident that they will not be successful.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence is being carried out under great strain and in difficult conditions. This is a difficult struggle, which results in enormous casualties, deprivations and significant material damage. Nonetheless, despite all the difficulties, the Vietnamese patriots are inflicting powerful blows against the American and South Vietnamese troops.

In recent weeks the armed forces of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam have unleashed offensive operations in ten cities and against the aggressors' military bases directly. The population actively supports the patriots.

By helping our Vietnamese brothers with everything essential for the struggle against the enemy, our country and the other socialist countries are fulfilling their international duty. The significant results which the Vietnamese people are achieving in deflecting the aggression is, comrades, the success of the entire socialist community.

If the USA continues to carry out a policy of searching for a military solution to the Vietnamese question, the protracted war will inevitably become more bitter, and the USA will sustain even greater losses. The understanding that a military victory in Vietnam is impossible to achieve is beginning to grow in the United States of America itself. Ever broader and more influential circles in the USA are coming out in favor of seeking a solution to the Vietnamese question through political negotiations. A majority of the American people is against the war. During our latest visit to the USA we had the chance to meet with many journalists and a large number of ordinary people. And I must say that the first question which they would ask concerned what had to be done to end the war in Vietnam.

At one time certain organs of the American press were attempting to claim that the way to a political settlement in Vietnam was closed because the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam supposedly refused to carry out negotiations with the U.S. government. But this is not true. A number of statements by representatives of the Democratic

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Republic of Vietnam say specifically that after the USA has unconditionally halted the bombing and all other acts of war against the DRV, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will be prepared to conduct negotiations with the USA on the basis of the Gencva Conventions of 1954.

The situation in the Middle East remains complex. The consequences of Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan have not been eliminated. Israel stubbornly refuses to remove its troops from the occupied Arab territories and is trying in every possible way to establish its position there.

The Soviet Union supported the Arab states in a difficult hour and played a decisive role in the stopping of the Israeli offensive.

We think that it is necessary to make every effort to achieve the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the positions which they occupied before 5 June 1967. The Soviet Union does not advocate the elimination of Israel. We favor the existence of Israel as an independent state.

The basis for a political settlement in the Middle East exists. And this is the resolution adopted by the Security Council in November of last year. As a first step toward peace it calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories which have occupied. However, three months have passed, and the Security Council resolution is not being fulfilled.

For our part, it goes without saying that we will continue to do everything necessary for the support the just demands of the Arab states concerning the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression.

The security interests of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are inextricably linked with the state of affairs in Europe. The situation in West Germany remains for us the most acute issue here. The ruling circles of this country do not wish to recognize those irreversible historical changes which took place in Europe during the post-war period. They are leading West Germany along the path of revanchism and militarism. The government of the FRG bases its aggressive course on the following: encroachments upon the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, illegal claims to represent "all Germans," non-recognition of the boundaries which have developed in Europe and on demands for access to nuclear weapons. This kind of policy serves as a nutrient medium for the rebirth of Naziism in West Germany. No matter how the FRG government attempts to disown it, the appearance in the political arena of West Germany of the National Democratic Party--which is a neo Nazi party--is a direct consequence of the government's policy.

The National Democratic Party hardly differs from the Hitlerite party in terms of its socio-political nature and revanchist aspirations. The neo-Nazi's, and the imperialist circles which stand behind them, want to attract dissatisfied people in the FRG through the use of slogans about revenge for the defeat in the war, the cult of the "great

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German nation" and the racist "blood community " They even think that they will be able to do this more easily than in the thirties, when fascism was spreading throughout Germany. Now they have put forward a type of revanchist program which directs its critical edge against another German state--the GDR. We are talking about a serious danger. And all the more so because West Germany is a member of the NATO military bloc.

All this, of course, does not mean that a military situation is developing in Europe. There is no such situation, but we must watch events there very carefully; we must not weaken our vigilance for a minute; we must be prepared to take appropriate measures. It is essential to maintain our defense capability at the necessary level at all times and to strengthen the military cooperation of the socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact in order to ensure a peaceful life for our peoples.

The Soviet people did not fight heroically and gain victory in the Great Patriotic War, nor did they sustain the countless casualties in order to allow a new focus of fascist and militarist threat to develop in direct proximity to the borders of their country and the fraternal socialist countries. These boundaries are firm and unchangeable, and any encroachments on them by the revanchists will meet with a crushing rebuff.

We attach great significance to the political struggle for the strengthening of peace in Europe. We can say with satisfaction that the proposals made by the socialist member nations of the Warsaw Pact on the issue of European security are meeting with more and more understanding and support in the Western European countries. We intend to work tirelessly toward the implementation of these proposals.

The issue of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons occupies an important place in the struggle being carried out in the international arena. As a result of extended negotiations, the Soviet Union was successful in reaching an agreement with the USA on a draft treaty concerning the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The negotiations on the draft treaty are being conducted by the Committee of the 18 in Geneva. The talks have entered the final phase.

However, it is essential to note that not all of the obstacles to the signing of the non-proliferation treaty have been overcome. Those who link their adventurist plans to access to weapons of mass destruction have not stopped their opposition. But the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to accelerate resolution of the nuclear non-proliferation issue.

Our relations with France are developing successfully. Agreements on cooperation between our countries in the area of economic relations, trade, science and technology are yielding practical results. Political

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contacts between the Soviet Union and France are also intensifying; they exert a positive influence on the situation in Europe, and they are helping to solve a number of important international problems.

We are satisfied with the course of our relations with the young, independent states which are fighting to consolidate their independence. The peoples of these states know well that the policy of the Soviet Union profoundly corresponds to their fundamental national interests.

Comrades, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have at the center of their daily activities a concern for strengthening the might and solidarity of the world system of socialism. We see in the unity of the socialist community of states the main guarantee of success in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression. and in the struggle for the strengthening of the peace and security of peoples. Together with the fraternal parties, we are working to further intensify our political cooperation, to maintain fruitful contacts with the leadership of communist parties and government in the fraternal countries and to improve economic ties. New treaties have recently been signed concerning friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, Bulgaria and Hungary. The new treaties reflect the higher stage in our mutual relations, which are becoming more and more diverse and which encompass ever newer areas of cooperation.

In the struggle for the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement the Communist Party attaches great significance to the calling of a new international conference of communist and workers parties. We think that at the present time the conditions for this have developed. In the years since the last world forum of communists, a whole series of problems requiring collective and creative consideration have arisen before the revolutionary movement. It is, after all, out of the common creative efforts which express the diversity of life that there arises the great experience of world communism, which is the property of all mankind. A majority of the fraternal parties share our viewpoint on the issue of calling a new international conference. More than 70 parties have already come out in favor of holding this conference.

In late February, as is well known, an advisory meeting of communist and workers parties will be held in Budapest; issues related to the preparations for a new international conference will be discussed at that time. Faithful to the principles of internationalism, our party will do everything that it can for the success of the advisory meeting.

In general it should be said, comrades, that our position is good. The country enjoys great prestige in the world and marches confidently ahead. But we are conducting peaceful communist construction in a complex international situation. It requires the adoption of all possible measures to ensure the further high rate of growth and consolidation of the

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economic and defense might of the Soviet Union. Everything needed for this is available. There is the firm will and resolve of the Soviet people to carry out everything that has been planned and scheduled; there is the great creative energy and ability of our people, and there are enormous material resources. Our country has the firm ideological and political unity of the entire Soviet people, who are closely united around their own Communist party.

The guarantee of our successful advancement toward the victory of communism is to be found in the fraternal friendship and close solidarity centered on the Leninist party of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

On behalf of the party Central Committee permit me to express our confidence that the Minsk party organization and all the communists of Belorussia will achieve great new success in the work to accomplish the further all-around development of the glorious Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and will continue to make a worthy contribution to the great cause of the construction of communism in our country.

Honor and glory to all who fought selflessly to liberate Belorussia from the fascist invaders, and to all who now build a communist society with their self-sacrificing labor.

Long live our glorious Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee!

Long live the great Soviet people, who are building a communist society!

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FIFTY YEARS OF THE INVIOABLE UNION AND FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF
THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

From a report to a ceremonial meeting of the employees of the USSR
Council of Ministers on 11 December 1972

Dear Comrades! Fifty years have passed since the All-Union Congress of
Soviets solemnly announced the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics--the world's first socialist multi-national state--in this hall
of the Bolshoy Theater.

The formation of the Soviet Union was a continuation of the cause of Great
October; it was an historic event in the life of society. The socialist
revolution eliminated the exploitation of man by man; it destroyed oppression
and dissension among peoples, and it created a new type of state--a
Soviet socialist state. It opened up a new type of democracy--democracy
for the working people, and it applied to life the great ideals of socialism,
peace, equal rights and friendship of peoples.

In marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics, the entire Soviet people--with great love and
profound respect--pays homage to the outstanding role of our teacher and
leader, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, for his theoretical development of the
basic principles for the unification of the Soviet republics on the basis
of equal rights and for his enormous organizational activity in the
creation and consolidation of the multi-national Soviet state.

Even before the October Revolution Lenin said that after the formation
of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working people of various nation-
alities, freed from national and social oppression, would aspire to
union with each other. This prediction came true. It was confirmed by the
joint struggle of the peoples of our country against the internal and
external enemies, and by the experience of state construction in the
first years of Soviet power.

V. I. Lenin generalized this experience and substantiated the need for
the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; he showed that
it was a unified state as a form of state structure which would create
the most favorable conditions for the political unity of peoples, for the
implementation of the principles of socialist democracy, for the maximum
possible development of the country's economy, for the successful building
of socialism and the strengthening of the positions of the world's first
socialist multi-national state in the international arena.

At the time when the USSR was formed, our country had just emerged from a
armed struggle of many years against the united forces of the foreign
interventionists and the internal counterrevolution, and it had just
begun to restore the national economy. The international situation remained
extremely complex. Devastation, unemployment and famine were rampant
throughout the country. Imperialism was attempting to stifle the young

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Soviet power by economic blockade. It was essential to create a unified front of the Soviet republics to restore the economy destroyed by the imperialist and civil wars, to defend the country against the armed encroachments of the imperialists and to ensure the conditions of economic independence and the victorious construction of socialism.

The peoples of all the Soviet republics understood well that with a separate existence they would not be able to restore the economy and preserve revolutionary gains, nor would they be able to defend the authority of their native land in the face of capitalist encirclement. All this prompted the working people of the Soviet republics to decisively and irrevocably move toward unification into one socialist state.

The Leninist party of communists headed the unification movement of peoples; it demonstrated the initiative for the unification of the republics into a single state. Our party fought consistently against any manifestations of great power chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism; it fought for the victory of the principles of proletarian internationalism, and it carried out enormous organizational work in the creation of the multinational state. Without this work the triumph of the Leninist national policy would have been unthinkable.

The unification of peoples into a single state created the preconditions for closer contact between them, for mutual assistance, for the broader utilization of our extremely rich national resources and for the achievement of the common high level of economic development of all our peoples.

As a result of the close political and economic cooperation of all the union republics, the age-old backwardness was ended within a short period of time. Modern industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture were established in all the union republics. A culture is developing which is socialist in content and national in form.

As a result of the industrialization of the country, the socialist transformation of agriculture and the cultural revolution, socialism was built in the USSR and changes--unprecedented in scale and depth--were made in the economic, social and spiritual life of the peoples. Favorable opportunities were opened up for steady growth in the well-being of the working people, and for the development of the culture of all nationalities and peoples of our country.

The experience of the Soviet Union in unifying the more than 100 nationalities and peoples which inhabit our country into a single family, confirmed in full measure the correctness of the principles which V.I. Lenin worked out for the solution of the national question as well as the wisdom of the Leninist national policy carried out by the Communist Party.

The achievement of true equality among peoples meant the realization at the same time of the Leninist teaching that it was possible for

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economically backward peoples to move toward socialism without going through the stage of capitalism. As V.I. Lenin pointed out, the most important condition for this transition is the fraternal assistance to these peoples by the proletariat, which has won political power. These Leninist ideas passed a convincing test and have been fully confirmed by the experience of the nation's nationalities in moving toward socialism.

The great and vital force of the Leninist idea of the friendship of peoples was demonstrated to the entire world not only during the years of peaceful construction, but especially during the Great Patriotic War. In fraternal union and by common efforts the peoples of our country defended their freedom and independence, their revolutionary gains, and they emerged the victors in the fight against the most dangerous enemy of mankind--Hitlerite fascism.

The friendship of the USSR peoples, sealed in the blood spilled in the battles for the honor, freedom and independence of the Soviet Homeland, and tempered in the common labor for the country's good, is the most important condition for the successful resolution of the problems of communist construction.

The 50-year history of the Soviet Union is the history of the revolutionary transformational work of the party and the people; it is the history of great victories and creative deeds on new and unexplored paths of social development.

The historical experience of the creation and development of a multi-national socialist state has convincingly proved our party's conclusion that the national question can be solved only on the basis of the socialist reconstruction of society.

No matter what kind of formal recognition of the equal rights of nations are contained in the laws of bourgeois states, not one single country in the capitalist world has in practice implemented national equality.

Only the socialist system creates the conditions for the solution of the nationalities problem with consideration for the fundamental interests of the working people of various nationalities and in fact guarantees to all peoples equal rights and opportunities.

The Soviet people are greeting the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet state with outstanding achievements in all areas of public life. Our socialist economy is developing according to a single state plan in the interests of the nation as a whole and of each republic taken individually. The gigantic scale of the Soviet Union's national economic development can be seen in the growth of the national income (an increase of 100-fold or more) and in the increase in the volume of industrial production, which is approximately 320-fold greater than in 1922.

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The economic growth of the USSR creates favorable conditions for successful economic construction in every republic, and this, in turn, leads to the strengthening of the entire nation's economic potential.

During the 50 years that the USSR has existed, all the regions of our country have developed strong ties with each other. The wealth of the country belongs to the entire Soviet people, and consequently to each Soviet republic taken individually. And it is for this reason that we view the economy of all the republics as a single and indissoluble complex.

The party and the Soviet government are working to achieve the planned and rational distribution of production forces and an economically sound distribution of capital investments and material funds in order to provide for further equalization of the economic and socio-cultural developmental levels of all the republics in our great Soviet Union.

Soviet citizens of various nationalities are developing common international features of culture, mores and daily life, which are the result of a new type of social relations and of the new patterns of socio-economic development in the Soviet state.

Today the population of our country consists mostly of people who were raised under the Soviet system. In marking the 50th anniversary of the Union of the SSR's as a holiday of all peoples, we are justified in saying that every Soviet individual has made his contribution to the creation and development of the great socialist multi-national state.

The Creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--the Brilliant Realization of the Ideas of Leninism

Comrades! The 24th CPSU Congress has emphasized that the Ninth Five-Year Plan must become an important stage in the further advancement of Soviet society along the path of communism. The fulfillment of the five-year plan requires large amounts of money, material resources and intense labor on the part of Soviet citizens. In his speech at the opening of the 24th party congress Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized: "The scale of the tasks which have been set by the congress is such that their completion requires a serious increase in the level of all our work--economic, ideological-political and party-organizational."

At present the Soviet peoples are summarizing the work of the first two years of the five-year plan and in the spirit of the Leninist tradition of our party they are addressing themselves to the tasks in front of them.

In those years of the five-year plan which have passed our economy has developed in accordance with the course outlined by the 24th party congress. The country has advanced substantially towards its goals of creating the material and technical base of communism, of increasing its

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economic might, consolidating its power and of reaching the main economic target of the five-year plan, which is to increase the living standards of the Soviet people.

In these years the national income has increased by 26.2 billion rubles or 10 percent. Gross production has increased by 55 billion rubles or 14.7 percent. The country will receive from industrial production approximately 500 million rubles worth of goods more than called for by plans for the years 1971 and 1972. There has been a significant increase in the output of many of the most important products, including petroleum, gas, coal, steel, textiles, footwear, tricot wear and products for domestic use.

Enormous work has been accomplished in the construction of production, residential and cultural facilities. The total volume of capital investment for the period of the five-year plan which has passed amounts to about 181 billion rubles. The country's economic potential has increased significantly. By the end of 1972 the amount of fixed capital will come to an enormous sum--850 billion rubles.

In industry new fixed production capital with a total value of nearly 60 billion rubles has been created in the two years. During this time approximately 800 major industrial enterprises have been put into operation.

As a result of the gigantic amount of work which the party and government have done, the material-technical base of agricultural production has been substantially increased. Fixed production capital in agriculture has grown, and today it amounts to 20 percent of the nation's entire fixed production capital.

By their intensive work our farmers were able to largely overcome the difficulties which arose in the current year and to provide the country with the maximum possible amounts--under this year's conditions--of grain, meat and other products. The cotton growers of the Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan have fulfilled their obligations with great success.

In accordance with the decision of the 24th CPSU Congress, the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers has carried out major measures to improve the people's living standards. About 34 million people have received increases in their wages, educational stipends or pensions. Enormous work has been carried out to improve the living conditions of the working people.

The summary data testify to the significant success which has been achieved in the realization of the 24th party congress decisions. However, we cannot pass by the serious shortfalls and inadequacies which exist in certain sectors of our economy; these failures to meet the state targets result mainly because certain ministries have not provided for

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systematic work according to the plan, nor have they concentrated their efforts on solving the main problems which exist, and they have made inadequate use of the reserves for raising the effectiveness of public production.

The national economic plan for the coming year calls for a high rate of growth in the national income, which is the main source for the improved living standard of the people, and it also calls for the expansion of production and the consolidation of the nation's defense capability. The national income is created at industrial enterprises, construction sites, and at kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's by the labor of Soviet people. Success in meeting the plan for the growth of national income depends on the degree of organization in their labor, the speed with which the technical level of production is increased and the extent to which the results of scientific research and production capital are used. All this requires a higher level of economic management and skill in making more effective use of material resources.

The output of industrial production is scheduled to increase by more than 24 billion rubles in the coming year and agricultural production is scheduled to increased by 10.5 billion rubles. These targets are relatively high, but they can be met.

The main means for the fulfillment of these targets is the intensification of public production. It is essential to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the plan targets for the use of new equipment, to work for constant growth in labor productivity, for an increase in the yield on fixed capital and for the more economical utilization of material and monetary resources. It is also necessary to concentrate our efforts on the fulfillment of the targets for putting new production capacities into operation and on the acceleration of the rate at which new capacities and equipment are brought to maximum use at existing enterprises.

From year to year the national economy receives more and more new machinery and materials and it puts more and more new commercial processes into production--all of which significantly increases the productivity of public labor. The plan for the coming year calls for a savings of about 2.6 billion rubles to be obtained as a result of the use of new equipment, which will also account for a planned reduction of about 900,000 people in the manpower requirement. We must make every effort to ensure that these important targets are met.

The Soviet nation possesses enormous natural resources. It is number one in the world in terms of explored reserves of the most important types of raw materials. This constitutes an important precondition for a high rate of economic growth.

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But our resources must be used carefully. The five-year plan calls for a reduction in the material-intensiveness of production and a large increase in the volume of finished products to be achieved by economizing on raw and finished materials. At the same time it is essential to bring order to the utilization of fuel resources, energy and fuel at industrial enterprises and at public utilities, where an unjustifiably large overconsumption of fuel and electrical energy takes place. Given the scale of our production, this problem acquires great significance.

There is enormous work to be done in the coming year on the development of new oil fields, gas and petroleum pipelines and on the accelerated construction of gas pipelines to transport gas from the regions of Tyumen', Orenburg and Central Asia. These regions are providing the greatest increases in fuel production, and they are essentially meeting the fuel needs of the economies in the central and western regions.

By the end of 1973 industry will have at its disposal fixed production capital with a total value of 280 billion rubles. This is an enormous production base. The correct and complete utilization of this capital constitutes the main task which must constantly be the focus of our attention. A reduction of the yield on capital amounting to even one kopeck per ruble of capital means the national economy will lose output worth 3 billion rubles in a year. It is essential to look for ways and means to increase the yield on capital.

We have not yet achieved a turning point in capital construction. There are still long delays in completing important construction projects. The plan targets for putting into operation new facilities in a majority of the branches of industry are not being fulfilled. In the first two years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the target for putting into operation fixed capital arising from state capital investment has been only 93 percent fulfilled, taking the total amount allotted for this purpose in the annual plans as 100 percent.

The delays in putting new enterprises into operation create difficulties for a number of sectors in the fulfillment of the five-year plan targets. All this takes place because of the serious inadequacies in the planning and management of construction.

High targets for the production of grain and other important products have been set for agriculture in the coming year. It is essential to ensure that agriculture receives on time the machinery, spare parts, mineral fertilizers and other material-technical supplies which it needs.

One of the main targets is to speed up the start of industrial production of new and qualitatively better goods for the public. Many products still do not meet the public's needs.

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We have frequent instances in which a disparity is noted between the production volumes of individual items and the demand for these items. This takes place because inter-industry relations are not given adequate study during the planning process. We still do not have available sufficient material resources in order to fully satisfy all public and private needs. But with each passing year we are moving closer to the main goal, which is the complete satisfaction of society's consumer demands.

Under developed socialism, the differences in the living standard of workers and peasants and that of people who do mental labor as opposed to physical labor are fading. All this exerts an enormous influence on the formation of a socialist way of life for workers in the city and the countryside.

In 1973 the national economy faces exceptionally important tasks. This will be the decisive year for the fulfillment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The 1973 plan calls for high targets in many sectors of the national economy. The rate of growth in the national income will be higher than in the two previous years.

Industry is faced with the task of taking a major step in the expansion of our economic potential and of raising the technical level of production. As a result, large quotas are stipulated for ferrous metallurgy, machine building, the chemical, fuel, light and food industries, as well as other industrial sectors.

We must pay particular attention to questions related to the initial production use of new equipment. Decisions on technical progress must result in a high technical level and economic benefit for many years ahead. We need to achieve a situation in which the ministries and departments--within the limits of the rights granted to them--work together with other interested ministries to solve problems which arise in the course of the fulfillment of the national economic plans.

The tasks before us are large and complex, and their solution will require very intensive work on the part of all economic organs. Beginning with the very first days of the new year the necessary conditions must be created at all enterprises in order to ensure that every sector of the national economy reaches the 1973 level stipulated in the five-year plan. It is essential to raise the level of every worker's responsibility for the fulfillment of his obligations and to strengthen state discipline in every possible way. Much depends on an increase in the level and quality of work in the government apparatus. We in the Council of Ministers are required to monitor and evaluate in timely fashion the fulfillment of government decisions by ministries and departments and to prevent red tape, bureaucracy and work done only for appearance's sake. The attention of the state apparatus and of its employees must be directed toward analysis and the generalization of materials, as well as toward the preparation of concrete proposals.

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The economic analysis must contribute to the development of effective proposals on how to save material and labor resources and how to make effective use of production capacities and capital investments.

Every specialist must know well the most important trends in technical progress and the state of affairs in science; he must be able to make qualified judgments on the progressiveness of any given technical developments. It is essential for everyone of them to have mastered the methods of profound economic analysis of the issues with which he is concerned and to be able to make judgments on the interrelations of plan indicators so as to reveal trends in the development of industry in good time.

Comrades! Our party remembers the wise words of Lenin: "A revolution is only worth something when it is able to defend itself..."¹ Vladimir Il'ich Lenin expressed this thought when our country was in an incredibly difficult position. In order to defend the revolution it was necessary not only to create a strong Red Army, but also to secure firm international positions for our country.

Lenin set before Soviet diplomacy the task of separating the pacifist section of the world bourgeoisie, which sought agreements with Soviet Russia from its aggressive section, which attempted to snuff out the revolution. It was necessary to establish wherever possible normal relations with foreign countries in the interests of restoring the economy. It was extremely important to play for time in order to strengthen the Soviet Union economically and to turn it into a powerful industrial power.

It is difficult to say how the fate of the Soviet state would have developed if the genius and will of Lenin had not defended the Brest peace. This was, as is well known, an extortionate, annexationist peace, but Lenin was convinced that this peace was the only salvation for the young Soviet state. For this reason Lenin insisted on a foreign policy decision which was the only correct one in those circumstances--the conclusion of a peace in the interests of saving the revolution.

The (Rapal) Treaty, which was concluded with Germany in 1922, was also of incalculable significance for the consolidation of our nation's security. The (Rapal) Treaty inflicted an important blow against the imperialist policy of isolating the Soviet Union; it showed that the imperialists' plans to create a united anti-Soviet front had collapsed.

These historical examples are persuasive evidence of the significance of foreign policy in the defense of Soviet power and in the maintenance of our country's security.

1. V. I. Lenin. Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 122.

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Although a majority of the main capitalist countries recognized the Soviet Union during the years 1924-1925, this by no means signified that they recognized the right of the socialist state to exist. In the period between the two world wars, the foreign policy of the imperialist powers had as its main purpose the elimination of the socialist system in our country. The aggression of Hitlerite Germany against the Soviet Union was also a manifestation of this policy.

Our victory in the Great Patriotic War and the formation of the worldwide socialist system has led to a fundamental change in the alignment of world forces in favor of socialism. This has enabled our party to draw its conclusion concerning the final victory of socialism in our country. This conclusion is now receiving broader and broader recognition from our class opponents as well. It can be said that the imperialist countries have thus--after a long period of resistance and fading hopes--come to acknowledge the right of the socialist system to enjoy full equal rights in the world. The imperialists entertained no such idea before the second world war. At that time their policy was based on their economic, military and scientific-technical superiority over us, a superiority which also extended to material and human resources.

Now, however, the imperialist world has openly acknowledged for the first time our equality in the military and strategic regard as well. All this only confirms that our foreign policy goals have been correctly chosen and that the Program of Peace, put forward by the 24th party congress, was imbued with a profound understanding of international development needs and is being successfully implemented.

The Central Committee of our party and the Soviet government attach top-priority significance to the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, and to the further consolidation of the socialist community as the main bulwark of all revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. The party and the government manifest daily concern for improved political cooperation with the fraternal countries, and for stronger ties between the communist and workers parties and between the peoples in the socialist countries. On all major international issues we carry out a coordinated policy, and this significantly increases the effectiveness of our joint foreign policy actions. This is particularly perceptible in European affairs.

The Soviet Union continues to develop economic cooperation with the countries of the socialist alliance. The Comprehensive Program for the Socialist Economic Integration of the CEMA Member Nations is being implemented. Our united efforts are responsible to a significant degree for the fact that the economy of all the countries of the socialist community is developing much more dynamically than, for example, the economy of the Common Market countries of Western Europe or of other capitalist states.

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The major successes which we have achieved in the development of cooperation with the socialist countries have been due to the following factors: our relations correctly combine national and international interests, and all the fraternal countries are governed by common goals, which meet the needs of the workers, as well as by a common Marxist-Leninist ideology and by principles of equal rights and mutual assistance. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has said: "We are pleased that we have nation-friends throughout the world. We especially value the fact that there are brother nations which are building socialism." This is a truly enormous gain achieved by the Leninist policy of our party and by the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

The foreign policy activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government has taken place during all these years in a difficult international situation. The major foci of imperialist aggression in Indochina and the Middle East seriously burden the development of detente and the policy of peaceful coexistence of nations with different social systems. Although the imperialist states are forced to come to terms with the changing alignment of forces in the world, they nonetheless continue to carry out a policy requiring great vigilance by our country. Militarist circles in the West use any excuse to suppress the tendency toward detente and to give new impetus to military preparations.

The policy of China's leadership is in fact also against detente. Beijing's main goal is to weaken the Soviet Union's international position, to set as many other countries as possible against the USSR and to undermine the unity of the socialist community. For this reason the Maoists betray the interests of the national liberation movement and wherever they can they sow the seeds of mistrust and enmity towards our country and the other socialist countries.

Our party decisively condemns the political course of the Chinese leadership, which is based on malicious anti-Sovietism; it is a great-power, schismatic course, which betrays the interests of the entire revolutionary movement.

While adhering steadfastly to Leninist principles in foreign policy, the Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government display a sober and flexible approach to the solution of international problems and to the development of relations with other countries. This policy has resulted in the achievement of major successes, especially in the solution of long-term, fundamental problems in the international arena.

Great shifts in favor of the forces of peace and socialism have taken place in Europe. As a result of the persistent struggle of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries we have consolidated the historical results of the second world war; we have consolidated the results of the victory won by our people at such great cost. The most acute problem of the post-war European reality concerns the recognition of the European boundaries, and it has been solved in the manner insisted upon by the Soviet Union since the end of the war.

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This foreign policy success has opened up a reliable path to the achievement of a firm peace in Europe and to the creation of a security system. The all-European Conference on Security and Cooperation is called upon to contribute to the solution of this great task. The holding of this conference has become an important issue of European policy.

Significant shifts have taken place this year in Soviet-American relations. The summit meeting which took place in Moscow and the results of Soviet American talks constitute an important step in our relations with the United States of America. In the political document entitled "Foundations of Mutual Relations between the USSR and USA," the governments of both countries took it upon themselves to follow the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Soviet-American agreements on concrete issues of our relations also have great significance. While remaining true to our principled positions, as defined by the 24th party congress, we firmly intend to carry matters through to the further improvement of Soviet-American relations. Naturally this requires effort on both sides and primarily a consistent implementation of those principles and practical agreements which we have negotiated with the United States.

By virtue of the position which the Soviet Union and the United States of America occupy in the world, all the fundamental aspects of world politics are reflected in one way or another in Soviet-American relations. Our party rejects the so-called policy of the "superpowers," which the Chinese propagandists are attempting to ascribe to us.

At the same time we cannot deny that the Soviet Union and the United States of America, by possessing the greatest military and economic potential, carry particular responsibility for the preservation of the general peace. For this reason the general climate in international relations depends largely on the state of relations between them.

The war in Indochina cannot help but influence Soviet-American relations. We have stated to the U.S. government that until it stops its aggression and interference in the affairs of Vietnam, we shall extend comprehensive support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their efforts to repel the aggression. This is our immutable position, and it does not depend on any shifts in Soviet-American relations. It is important that the Americans have embarked on a search for compromise in the matter of a political settlement in Vietnam. Although an agreement has not yet been signed due to the maneuvers of the American side, its basic content undoubtedly reflects the major political victory of the Vietnamese patriots.

While there have been visible attempts to seek a settlement in Indochina, the warring sides in the Middle East have not changed their positions at all. Israel, which depends for its support on the USA, rejects a political settlement and the fulfillment of the well-known decisions of the Security Council, and it continues to occupy the occupied Arab territories.

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The lack of unified action by the Arab countries seriously complicates the prospects for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, and the Israeli aggressors make use of this.

In Middle Eastern affairs the Soviet Union continues to support a policy of peaceful settlement of the conflict. It is difficult to say at present how and when the problem of peace in the Middle East will be solved. The situation there continues to remain tense and dangerous. For our part we will continue to do everything possible to help the friendly Arab countries achieve a just settlement of the conflict.

The problem of Soviet-Japanese relations has recently acquired new contours. The territorial claims of certain circles in Japan stand in the way of a final normalization of our relations with this country.

Friendly relations and cooperation continue to develop with India, one of the largest countries in the world, and with other countries on the South Asian subcontinent. The conclusion of the Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with India, the Soviet Union's support for the national-liberation movement in Eastern Bengali, later the People's Republic of Bangladesh, further increased the authority of Soviet foreign policy in this important region of the world. Another factor contributing to this increased authority was our active assistance in restoring peace between India and Pakistan after the December conflict of 1971. We maintain normal, good-neighborly relations with another country of the subcontinent--Pakistan.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government will continue to persistently implement the Program of Peace; they will continue to defend our successes and to develop them further,

Now, on the eve of the glorious anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we mentally review those initial frontiers, which marked the beginning of the history of the Soviet Union, and we compare it with the position which our country occupies in today's world.

In 1922 we, as a socialist state, represented a unique island in the world of capitalism. Today our country is part of the most powerful community of peoples which history has ever known--the worldwide socialist community.

Fifty years ago we were in many respects weaker than the capitalist world which surrounded us. Now socialism has become a deciding factor in worldwide development. But even then we were incomparably stronger than the old world in terms of our revolutionary ideals, our loyalty to the cause of Great October, our enthusiasm for the creation of something new, our will to victory, and the solidarity of the working class and all laboring people, the solidarity of all the peoples of our country around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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In the year the Soviet Union was formed our country was recognized by only a few neighboring states. Now we have diplomatic relations with 112 states, that is, with practically the whole world, and every new independent state seeks our recognition and strives to establish relations with the Soviet Union.

When the Soviet Union was established, nearly 70 percent of the earth's population lived in colonies and semi-colonies, which made up the colonial system of world capitalism, the source of its wealth. As Lenin foresaw, Great October awakened powerful liberation forces in the colonial world. And today many of the liberated states join the socialist countries in forming an anti-imperialist front, and a broad national-liberation movement of peoples has become an important part of the world revolution.

In the year that the USSR was formed Soviet diplomacy succeeded for the first time in achieving international legal recognition of socialist property. And now socialist property is the economic foundation of nations which yield nearly 40 percent of world industrial production and which represent one-third of the world's population. Socialist property is now the foundation of the most dynamic national economies, which have the highest and steadiest rates of growth; at the same time it is the economic foundation of the new international process of socialist economic integration.

In 1922 our heroic Red Army was poorly armed and had hardly any equipment. Now our country has available powerful armed forces, equipped with every type of modern weapon and everything necessary to repel any aggression in order to ensure the defense of the peaceful labor of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of all the countries of socialism.

Our foreign policy constantly makes a large contribution to the maintenance of the security of our Homeland and the security of its friends and allies. The successes of Soviet foreign policy are successes for the cause of peace and socialism, and it is for this reason that they are in the interests of all peoples.

All this increases still further the authority of the Soviet Union in the world and strengthens even more the trust and respect for the Leninist party and the Soviet state felt by our numerous friends--the countries of socialism, the international communist movement, the worldwide working class, the forces of national liberation and all the peaceloving forces in the worlds.

Our entire country greets the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union as a powerful and monolithically united socialist family of peoples. It moves confidently ahead under the leadership of the Communist Party along the path outlined by the party program and the decisions of the 24th congress.

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We face--on the path of communist construction--a vast amount of work which requires us to put forth more labor than we have up to now. Life poses new problems which require profound study and creative solutions. And for communists, and for all Soviet people, there is not greater obligation and no greater happiness than to give all one's strength, knowledge, capabilities to the most humane and noble cause--the struggle for the victory of communist ideals, for the better future of mankind.

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A GLORIOUS PAGE IN THE PEOPLE'S EPIC

Lead article from the book "Na doroge zhizni" [On the Road of Life], published by Lenizdat on the 30th anniversary of Victory

The recollections of those who participated in the national epic of the Great Patriotic War always provide a stirring tale addressed to our contemporaries and to future generations.

The historic victory over the sworn enemy of mankind--German fascism--proved convincingly the irresistible force and the great advantages of the Soviet social and state system. The great creator of this victory was the Soviet people, indoctrinated by the Communist Party.

The unparalleled feat performed by those who defended the city of Lenin--the cradle of the October Revolution--occupies a special place among the important events in the history of the Great Patriotic War. Unable to break the resistance of the Soviet troops near Leningrad, the enemy troops, who had suffered enormous losses, moved to blockade the city. In the autumn of 1941 the enemy cut off the roads which connected Leningrad with the rest of the country, hoping that the city's material and food resources would soon be exhausted and hunger would force the Leningraders to surrender.

The situation at that time was tense in the extreme; Leningrad was blockaded, the fascist German hordes were coming close to Moscow and were breaking through on other fronts. But the Hitlerite plans to turn the Soviet people into slaves were foiled. The enemy was halted near Moscow, and having received a crushing blow, he was put to flight. The plans to seize and destroy Leningrad and to exterminate its population also failed.

Leningrad was in the grip of the enemy blockade for 900 days, and it was subjected to cruel bombing and artillery shelling, but the spirit of its defenders, the spirit of Leningraders, was not broken. Every person considered himself a soldier, held the revolutionary traditions of October sacred in his heart and showed high moral qualities and set an example of Soviet patriotism.

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The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the State Defense Committee did everything possible to prevent the heroic defenders of the city of Lenin and its civilian population from feeling cut off from the country. For all 900 days of the blockade Leningrad was linked to the rest of the nation.

Despite the difficult situation throughout the nation, essential measures were taken to help besieged Leningrad. But supplying the city's population with food and the front with ammunition was an extremely difficult matter. At the most critical period of the blockade food, clothing, other goods and medications were delivered to Leningrad from Moscow and other cities of the country. However, under the conditions which had developed it was impossible to resolve the problem of supplying Leningrad through the use of air routes. As a result, the party and the government adopted a decision to transport freight and people in the winter time along an ice road across Lake Ladoga, which came to be called the Road of Life, and to use various vessels after the lake had been freed of ice.

For this purpose the deserted shores of Lake Ladoga became the sites of the ports which were created and the piers which were built; flotation equipment was concentrated here, evacuation points were organized, as were intake points for children and the sick. Railway lines and stations were constructed, and a pipeline was built along the bottom of the lake to deliver fuel supplies to the city. The Road of Life became the main and deciding transportation artery. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of this highway! It was used to bring food, weapons, ammunitions, fuel and many other things into Leningrad.

In addition to the Leningrad transport workers, people sent from other cities also worked on the Road of Life. Moscow sent drivers with busses to evacuate Leningrad children, women, old people and injured fighters across Lake Ladoga for further rail transportation into the depths of the country. People from Gor'kiy and Yaroslavl⁶ brought trucks to remove equipment, scientific and material valuables from the city.

The self-sacrificing labor of the fearless fighters of the Ladoga military flotilla, the heroic workers of the ice road and of the railroads, made a worthy contribution to the defense of Leningrad.

The Road of Life was served by people of great courage, people who were true patriots of their Fatherland. I had the chance to come into close contact with many of them. Neither air bombings, nor the artillery shelling by the fascist batteries at Schliesselberg, nor the cruel frost or the wicked storms could prevent these people from fulfilling their duty.

L.I. Brezhnev, speaking on 10 July 1965 at the ceremony devoted to the presentation of the Gold Star Medal to the hero city of Leningrad, said: "Leningrad won out because in its struggle, even during the period of the cruel blockade, it constantly found support in the entire Soviet

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people. Leningrad was under enemy seige for nearly two and a half years. But it was not left alone for a single day or a single hour. The entire nation helped the city.

The heroic defense of Leningrad, the extreme efforts by the city's industrial workers under the most difficult conditions of the blockade, and the breakthrough of the enemy encirclement--all this is part of the national epic of the people's courage.

The Leningrad party organization fulfilled a great role as organizer as of the defense of the city of Lenin and as the nurturer of its defenders. The party obkom and gorkom carried out coordinated work at all enterprises and provided for the mobilization of the city's material resources for defense needs.

When we read the recollections of those who participated in the Ladoga feat, we become even more profoundly conscious of the sources of our people's strength and courage during the Great Patriotic War. We honor deeply the fearless and courageous people who held out against the blockade, and we bow our heads before the bright memory of those who gave their lives in the name of freedom and independence for the Motherland.

There shall remain forever in the memory of our descendants the knowledge of this great feat by the Soviet people and of the heroism of the defenders of the city of Lenin, who showed unprecedented fortitude, strength of spirit and faithfulness to the ideals of the Communist Party.

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SIXTY YEARS ALONG THE PATH OF GREAT OCTOBER

Report to a ceremonial meeting of personnel from the USSR
Council of Ministers held on 31 October 1977 in the State
Central Concert Hall

Comrades!

The Soviet people, the international working class and the progressive forces of the entire world welcome as their own greatest and most joyful holiday the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In the history of mankind there have many events which have left behind themselves a deep trace. But none of them has exerted such a powerful and unrelenting influence on the historical destiny of peoples as the October Revolution.

The victory of October has become the main event of the 20th century. It opened up a new era--the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, the era of the struggle "for the liberation of peoples from imperialism and for the cessation of wars between peoples... for socialism."¹

And as October 1917 moves farther away from us, the more fully and profoundly mankind comprehends its grandeur.

The revolution signified a fundamental turning point in the country's development; it led the nation onto the path of genuinely independent development, the path of comprehensive socio-economic and cultural progress.

1. V.I. Lenin. Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 171.

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The working people of the entire world have seen the advantages of socialism in the rapid development of the economy, and of culture and science in the Soviet Union--development in the interests of the popular masses, without economic crises and other defects of capitalism. These advantages have been made very clear by the example of a most advanced social system, which is characterized by the comprehensive development of the personality, respect for labor as the main criterion of human worth and the increasing level of satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working masses. The ideas of October, while living in the concrete experience of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, nourish the workers movement throughout the world and strengthen the ranks of revolutionaries and their confidence in the victory over capitalism.

It is no exaggeration to say that the social concessions, which the working people in a number of capitalist countries have won from the bourgeoisie in the persistent class struggle of recent decades would have been impossible without the influence of socialism, in other words, without the influence of the October Revolution. Despite all the attempts to present socialism and our socialist system in a false light, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries have been forced to keep a constant watch on our conditions of our life, the truth about which is finding its way to ever broader masses of working people in the countries of capital.

The October Revolution marked the beginning of the assertion of principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations of states with different social system and the assertion of the ideals of peace and friendship among peoples. To use the words of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, it signified "the first victory for the cause of the destruction of wars." The powerful force of socialism eliminated the monopoly of the imperialist powers in international politics and it forced the world of capitalism to come to terms with new--democratic and just--principles of relations between peoples. It became a decisive factor in the cause of peace and the defense of peoples against imperialist aggression.

The grandeur of the October Revolution has also been manifested in its influence on the moral foundations of society. It has countered the moral decay of capitalism with the high moral principles of the proletariat and the best moral qualities developed by mankind.

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Great October became the voice of genuine freedom and genuine humanism. It was the start of a new, socialist civilization, in which the working class plays the main role.

The October Revolution sustained victory because it was headed by a new kind of party, which was created by the great Lenin, a party which embodied revolutionary energy as possessed by the most advanced class of modern times--the working class.

The heroic path which has been traversed by our people under the banner of the October Revolution and everything that we have achieved in the construction of a new society has now been reflected in our new constitution, the adoption of which has become an outstanding event in the history of world socialism. "The new constitution," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has said, "is vivid evidence that the ideas declared by October and the precepts of Lenin are being successfully implemented."

The leading role of the Communist Party is incorporated into law in one of the first articles of our constitution. The Communist Party has earned this high recognition by its titanic work in the interests of the working class and the entire Soviet people, and in the interests of revolution, socialism and peace among peoples.

The Economic and Social Development of the Country in its 60 Years

The experience of our country has proven that only the working class, led by the Communist Party, is able to lead the entire mass of the working people and the exploited in the struggle to overthrow the yoke of capital, in the struggle to consolidate victory and in the process of creating a new social order.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin considered creative constructive work to be the main task of the victorious proletariat. The revolution was carried out and brought to victory in order to build a new society which would be in the interests of the working class and all the laboring masses, as well as in the interests of social progress.

Under the leadership of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin the party worked out a plan for the fundamental transformation of the country, and it provided the foundation for the policies of the socialist state for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The industrialization of the country, the formation of agricultural cooperatives and the cultural revolution became the main points of the Leninist plan for the construction of a socialist society.

The implementation of this plan resulted in the solution of a great social problem--the elimination of the exploiting classes and of the causes which gave rise to the exploitation of man by man. In the city

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and the countryside socialist property became the firm economic foundation of Soviet society. The socio-political and ideological unity of the people in the USSR developed.

The major achievements of socialism included the following: the solution of the national question, the welding of all the nationalities and peoples into a single multi-national state, the development of close cooperation and fraternal friendship among them and the flowering of their economies and cultures.

The construction of the foundations of socialism in the USSR represents the historical victory of the party and of all our people.

By their historic victory in the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people defended the right and position which they had gained as leaders in the march toward worldwide social progress. The heroic feat of the people and their glorious armed forces in that war will not dim with the ages.

Our country survived the most difficult testing and by 1948 it had achieved the pre-war level of industrial production, and by 1950 it had reached the pre-war level of agricultural production. In subsequent years the real preconditions for the full and final victory of socialism in our country were created, as were the conditions for the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a national socialist state.

The rapid growth in the scale of public production and the profound qualitative changes in the economy, in the social structure of our society and in the standard of living of the people resulted in the construction--by the late sixties--of a developed socialist society. This is the most important result of the country's social and economic development along the path of October, the result of the great creative activity of the Soviet people and the wise Leninist policy of the Communist Party.

Our society is solving ever more complex economic and social problems on the basis of its highly-developed production potential. Fundamental qualitative and quantitative changes have taken place in everything that characterizes the production forces of the country. This pertains to the scale of production, as well as to its technical-economic level, to the provision of fuel and raw material resources, to the number of workers and the quality of their general education and vocational training, and to the level of scientific development.

The economic potential of every country is characterized as well by the scale of the resources which society can direct to the expansion of production. In the years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone we invested in the national economy about 500 billion rubles, and for the first time we overtook the USA in the amount of annual capital investment.

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In the 60th anniversary year of the October Revolution the national income of the Soviet Union will exceed the prerevolutionary level 68-fold, and industrial production will have increased 145-fold. As for those sectors which determine technical progress in the national economy--electrical power, machine building and metal working, the chemical and petrochemical industries, for example--they have only to be in operation for a few hours in order to exceed the annual production volume of prerevolutionary Russia in the respective sectors.

Major qualitative shifts have taken place in nearly every sector of our nation's industry. One blast furnace at the Ktivoy Rog Metallurgical Plant now yields as much cast iron as tsarist Russia produced in an entire year. The Bratsk GES alone produces 11 times more electrical power in a year than all of Russia produced in the year 1913.

Gross agricultural production has increased approximately 3.5-fold in comparison with the prerevolutionary level, while the number of people employed in this sector has been reduced to nearly one-half of what it was. The entire increase in agricultural production is now provided by growth in labor productivity.

During the years of Soviet power our science has advanced a great deal. Socialism has created unlimited opportunities for its development, and it has put the achievements of science at the service of the people.

In the 60 years of Soviet power the labor achievements of the Soviet people have enabled our country to reach the most developed country of capitalism--the United States of America--in terms of a large number of economic indicators and to exceed it for other indicators. The Soviet Union has outstripped the USA not only in the rate of production, but also in the absolute increase in the production of a number of important industrial items. And this trend has acquired stability. It reflects the gradual retreat of capitalism in the economic competition with socialism.

Socialism has provided historically unprecedented rates of progress in all areas of the life of society. It has provided for a steady increase in the well-being of the popular masses. The social evils of capitalism such as hunger and poverty, unemployment and illiteracy, social and national oppression, have receded into the past forever.

Every two years we put up more housing than Russia had in its urban housing stock before the revolution.

Three-quarters of the adult population of Russian was illiterate, and now more than three-quarters of the workers have higher or secondary education. There are practically no illiterates in the country, and by the end of the Tenth Five-Year Plan all young people of age 18 will have a complete secondary education.

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"...the most important result of the 60-year period which we have passed through is the Soviet man," said Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 25th party congress. The transforming force and grandeur of the October Revolution and of our socialist order are manifested with particular clarity in his image. Before the entire world the Soviet man stands as master of his fate, as a creative human being, as an internationalist, who consciously gives of his strength and energy to the cause of the embodiment of communist ideals.

In our country all social strata have come closer together and all nationalities and peoples are equal; this has provided the basis for the development of an historically new community of people--the Soviet people. Its inviolable social foundation is the alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, in which the working class invariably plays the leading role.

Since the sixties the working class has numerically exceeded all other social groups in society taken together, and it now amounts to two-thirds of the population of the Soviet Union. Nearly three-fourths of the workers in our country now have a secondary (complete or incomplete) or higher education, while in 1939 the corresponding figure was only 8.4 percent (in relation to the number of employed). The level of worker participation in public activities and in the management of production has increased significantly.

The political maturity of our working class, the level of its organization and collectivism, in addition to its high level of education and technical literacy, determines its leading position in Soviet society.

Transformations which are profound in terms of their scale and social consequences have taken place in the life of the Soviet peasantry. The reorganization of the life of the peasantry and of the entire rural structure of the past, with its wretchedly low level of existence and with its unsparing exploitation of this poverty by the large landowner and the kulak. Soviet power gave the peasantry land and convinced it of the need for the shift to large-scale collective farming; it has put forward as a goal and is working toward the elimination of substantial differences in the urban and rural way of life. Even now it is difficult to find general criteria to compare the living and working conditions of yesterday's peasant and today's kolkhoz member or sovkhoz worker. The Soviet peasant has become the genuine master of the land and a conscious creator of his own fate.

The Soviet intelligentsia has become truly a people's intelligentsia. It has made an enormous contribution to the realization of the nation's cultural revolution, to the cause of scientific and technical progress and to the development of the productive forces of socialist society.

Soviet power and our revolution revealed the enormous creative forces of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. Our successes

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in the national economy, in science and culture would not have been possible without enormous growth in the political and ideological consciousness which has taken place in the working class in all our people.

Is it not a great victory for us, for the party and for Soviet power when a worker or a kolkhoz member holds forth from the Supreme Soviet or at a party congress as a master of the country, as a political figure, who carries full civil and moral responsibility for the state of affairs in the nation and for its future?

The remarkable results of our nation's development along the path of October are reflected in the new constitution of the Soviet Union. The democratic principles of our system, the basic features of mature socialism and of our national state and political order are consolidated in this document.

During the national discussions of our new constitution the entire world once again had the opportunity to become convinced of the inseparability of the interests of the Soviet people and its Communist Party, and of the fact that our Leninist party is fulfilling its leadership role in society precisely because it reflects correctly the interests and aspirations of our people. The fact that the party occupies such a position in society is the result of the wise political policies and fruitful organizational activities of the Central Committee, and of its Politburo, headed by the general secretary of the CC, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

The adoption of the new constitution shows the whole world that the resolution of the socio-economic problems facing the Soviet people is inextricably linked with the further improvement of socialist democracy, which ensures social justice and equality and the real rights and liberties of man in all spheres of the life of society.

Our new constitution is a convincing reply to the attempts of our enemies to distort the humane essence of Soviet democracy and to hypocritically and sanctimoniously set bourgeois democracy in opposition to it. But no propaganda, not even the most skillfully produced, can hide the fact that in bourgeois society a man does not have the right to work; instead, he has at best only the right to sell his worker's hands, the right to be subjected to exploitation, if he avoids the fate of the unemployed. Bourgeois democracy cannot hide the fact that in the most developed capitalist countries, which have constitutions declaring the principle of equality, millions of people are subjected to racial discrimination and racial persecution; millions are hungry, illiterate, deprived of shelter, medical care and living conditions suitable for a human being. The shootings of demonstrators who protest social injustice, the growth of violence and organized crime, widespread corruption, the persecution of progressive people and workers' organizations--all this is the reverse side of bourgeois democracy and the "human rights" which it proclaims. But in order to talk about the rights of man, the system which gives rise to

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illegality and inhumanity must be eliminated. In our country the October Revolution solved this problem.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan: First Results and Current Targets

The preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of Great October and the adoption of the new constitution have aroused enthusiasm throughout the nation for the work to fulfill the historic decisions of the 25th congress of the Communist Party.

Since the congress the party's Central Committee and the government have carried out extensive and multi-faceted work to ensure that the main target of the Tenth Five-Year Plan is reached. Our economy is oriented more and more towards the fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people. A whole series of decrees has been developed and adopted for the purpose of improving the operations of many industries, agriculture, transportation and various service spheres by raising them to a higher level in line with the requirements of the five-year plan. A number of decisions have been made, as is well known, to directly improve the people's well-being.

Two months remain before the end of the year. But on the basis of preliminary figures some conclusions can be drawn now concerning the development of our economy in the first two years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

For us the most important conclusion is that the main goal of the five-year plan, which was determined by the 25th party congress, is being consistently implemented. The foundation has been laid for the planned development of the national economy in subsequent years.

Our nation's economic potential continues to grow at a rapid rate. Fixed production capital will have increased 16 percent in the two years. One fifth of it will have been renewed in these years. As a result the capital-labor ratio in material production sectors will have increased 14 percent.

A reduction in the material-intensiveness of public production will provide the national economy with a savings amounting to 2.1 billion rubles in comparison with 1975.

On the basis of the growth in national income further improvements continue to take place in the material and cultural level of the people's life.

In accordance with the program worked out by the 25th party congress for the social development and improvement of the people's well-being, measures are being carried out in the Tenth Five-Year Plan to increase the minimum wage for blue- and white-collar workers employed in the non-production sphere. Certain other categories of employees have received wage and pension increases.

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In the two years the public consumption funds will have increased by more than 10 percent, which exceeds the plan target. By the end of this year they will total about 100 billion rubles.

The party Central Committee and the government are devoting considerable attention to increasing the production of consumer goods and to improving their quality, as well as to improving trade and the service sphere. This is a matter of enormous political and economic significance, and it is directly related, as emphasized by the 25th congress, to the fulfillment of the party's program directives. It is essential that all the planning, production and trade organizations put forth unflagging efforts in order to work for the step-by-step achievement of real improvement in the operations of this broad sphere of our economy.

As planned by the 25th party congress, the country continues to build housing on a large scale. In the first two years of the five-year plan more than 216 million square meters of total (useful) space in residential buildings will have been constructed, and this will make it possible to improve the living conditions of nearly 22 million people.

Every Soviet individual also sees evidence of the party and the government's constant concern for improvement in the life of the people in the widespread construction of new schools, kindergartens and nurseries, hospitals and polyclinics, holiday homes and guesthouses; evidence of this concern can also be seen in the provision of services for our cities and villages, in measures for the protection and the improvement of man's environment.

Behind these achievements, which reflect the confident advancement of our socialist economy, stands the daily, selfless labor of our heroic working class, our glorious kolkhoz peasantry and our people's intelligentsia. Behind all of this we see the high political consciousness of Soviet working people and their resolve to do everything necessary for the successful fulfillment of the Tenth Five-Year Plan assignments.

Thousands and thousands of examples of outstanding workers and initiatives by production collectives in all branches of our national economy provide evidence that the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, which reflect the collective will of our people, have become the vital concern of the entire people and their patriotic duty, a concern of their minds and hearts.

All this places enormous responsibility on our state and economic organs concerned with the organization and management of production, and with planning and providing material and technical supplies for it. This is primarily the responsibility to ensure that all our material and labor resources are used with maximum effectiveness in the interests of steady growth in the economy and the people's well-being.

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In the first two years of the five-year plan the employees in industry have made a great contribution to successes which have been achieved in the development of the national economy.

As the figures show, the plans for the realization of production in this period will be met ahead of schedule. The total volume of industrial production will have increased by nearly 11 percent in comparison with 1975, and labor productivity will have increased by 7.6 percent.

The targets for the first two years of the five-year plan will be exceeded for the following: electrical energy, natural gas extraction, automobiles, tractors, agricultural equipment and machinery for animal husbandry and fodder production, instruments, equipment for automation, computers, paper and household goods.

The industrial workers of all our union republics are welcoming the anniversary of Great October with remarkable labor achievements.

An enormous amount of work has been carried out in these two years to further improve socialist agriculture. In accordance with the decisions of the 25th party congress, the state and the kolkhoz's have invested--during the first year and a half of the five year plan--46 billion rubles, or more than one fourth of the total amount of capital invested in the national economy. The kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's have received a great deal of new equipment--tractors, grain harvesting combines, trucks and specialized vehicles and a large amount of other machinery for land cultivation and animal husbandry. Irrigated land amounting to 1,110,000 hectares and drained land amounting to more than a million hectares has been put into use. In many areas major animal-raising complexes have been built.

In his speech at the October (1976) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev clearly outlined the main tasks in the area of agriculture, the successful resolution of which will determine the effectiveness of the enormous efforts of our people to increase agricultural production. This concerns the "economical utilization of the enormous resources allotted by the state for the development of agriculture, a careful attitude toward the land and an effort to achieve a maximum yield from every hectare, from every ruble of investment and from every ton of fertilizer."

Now, when the harvest campaign on the fields of the nation is still being concluded, it is difficult to provide a complete picture of the results of production activity in agriculture during the first two years of the five-year plan. It can be said that the average annual grain production in the years 1976-1977 will have been significantly higher than the average per year during the last five-year plan. Of course, we must not let this make us at all self-satisfied because the nation's demand for grain is large and it is growing rapidly; there is still much to be done in order to meet the high target for grain production set for the end of the five-year plan.

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During the last five-year plan the country experienced a number of years in which there were difficult weather conditions. The shortfall of fodder resulted in a reduction in the number of cattle and the production of meat and other items which come from animal-husbandry. The party Central Committee and the government mobilized all our potential for the improvement of animal husbandry, and as a result the number of cattle has now almost reached what it was before; the productivity of animal husbandry has improved and on this basis supplies of animal products have increased. As of 1 October more animal products had been sold to the state than on that date last year; for cattle and poultry there was an 11-percent increase; for milk it was 10 percent and for eggs it was 14 percent. Despite this significant increase, the public's growing demand for meat and certain other products is still not being fully satisfied. Our task is to do everything possible to increase fodder production and on this basis to achieve further growth in the cattle herds and poultry stocks in order to satisfy in the near future the entire public demand for animal products.

In a planned socialist economy the growth of industry and the growth of cities must be accompanied by balanced development of agricultural production. For this reason the party has firmly embarked on a policy of continuing the accelerated development of agriculture. We will increase deliveries of new equipment to the countryside in order to increase labor productivity, to meet the optimal deadlines for carrying out agricultural work and to reduce losses; we will further increase deliveries of fertilizers, expand land reclamation, apply scientific farming methods and train even more specialists for the villages.

The improvement of agriculture is our most important national economic task, and the party and the government are directing the efforts of practically all sectors of our economy to the solution of this problem. There is no doubt that in terms of the basic technical and economic indicators our agriculture will reach the same level as our highly-developed socialist industry in the not-too-distant future.

We spend more than one-fifth of the nation's income every year on capital construction. During just the first two years of the five-year plan about 240 billion rubles of capital investment will be put to use. This is almost as much as the amount invested in the national economy during all the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The introduction of new fixed capital will total about 220 billion rubles.

Large-scale facilities have been put into operation for energy production and for the expansion of other branches of heavy industry which are of importance for the development of the national economy. Among them we should name the major complexes for the production of mineral fertilizers and the raw materials for the fertilizers which have been built in Novgorod, Nevinnomyssk, Gorlovka, Sumgait and at the Cherepovetsk and Balakovo chemical plants. The first unit of the Kama Automobile Plant has gone into use.

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Light industry and the food industry have opened many new enterprises and provided them with advanced equipment.

In order to successfully fulfill the targets of the five-year plan it is essential not only to firmly consolidate that which is positive and has already been achieved in the fulfillment of the plan, but also to mobilize all our potential to eliminate existing defects in individual sectors of economic activity. As Vladimir Il'ich Lenin taught us, the best way to mark the anniversary of October is to concentrate attention on problems which have not yet been resolved.

The first and foremost task is to accelerate the growth of labor productivity in the national economy. All the inadequacies and omissions which exist in our work, in the organization of supply and sales, in planning and management, not to mention the state of labor discipline at enterprises, are reflected one way or another in labor productivity. If we attempt to single out the main directions in which our efforts must move to accelerate the growth of labor productivity, we will find that they include greater activity by all units of the national economy to introduce new equipment and technology to production, to mechanize and automate primary and auxiliary production units, to increase the equipment utilization factor and to improve the organization of labor.

In the current five-year plan we have created conditions which are more favorable for the faster application of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy. For the first time the five-year plan calls for about 200 comprehensive programs of scientific and technical progress in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and other sectors. The targets stipulated in these programs for the development and industrial application of new equipment have been provided with financial and material resources, and they have been linked with plans for production, supply and capital construction.

The effective utilization of the existing potential for accelerated economic application of scientific and technical discoveries requires closer interaction between scientific-research organizations and production, and broader utilization, for example, of the positive creative experience of collectives of scientists and producers in order to solve major economic problems.

In recent years a certain reduction has been achieved in the proportion of heavy manual labor performed in industry. However, the number of workers engaged in this kind of labor is still high. From this it follows that more attention must be given in the national economic plans to the production of equipment for the mechanization of hoisting and transport work, loading and unloading and warehouse work, and a number of other processes in construction, agriculture, commerce and public catering, and at domestic service enterprises. This acquires particular significance as a result of the influence of well known demographic factors, which in the eighties will lead to a substantial reduction in the number of able-bodied workers entering the national economy.

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The issues of labor productivity in rail transportation are becoming more and more acute. The nation's railways, as you know, operate under a heavy load and do not always manage to meet the targets for the shipment of freight. Our future plans must contain additional measures for the development of railway transportation.

Substantial economic benefit could be obtained if existing production capacities were used more fully and if new facilities were put into service on time. This concerns nearly all sectors of the national economy. All our organizations, including Gosplan and the ministries, must do everything possible to search for new opportunities to make optimal use of fixed capital in the national economy and to incorporate these opportunities into future plans. The national income appropriated by the state for accumulation purposes, must be used productively to give a high rate of return.

In recent years significant efforts have been directed toward improving the state of affairs in the construction industry. However, there has not yet been any real breakthrough in this industry. It seems that much of this can be attributed to a very conservative approach to the methods of planning capital construction.

It is essential to ensure continuity in planning which will make it possible for builders to know exactly what they will be doing in the coming year and how their work will be provided with the appropriate labor, material-technical and financial resources.

The practice of scattering capital investments, material and labor resources over many construction sites and projects still exists. The result is further growth in the number of incomplete construction projects instead of the reduction called for by the five-year plan.

We still have a great deal of work to do to improve the planning of capital construction. Solutions must be found to these problems in the 1978 and subsequent plans.

The problems which we face in the improvement of economic leadership include important tasks such as how to improve the balanced nature of the plans and the economy with which fuel, raw and secondary materials are consumed and how to reduce the material-intensiveness of production.

The urgent new tasks which face our entire system of economic management make it essential to turn our five-year plans, within the framework of which the specific targets would be distributed by years, into the main planning documents. Having strengthened in this way the stability of our national economic plans, we would provide every sector of industry, and the associations and enterprises with the opportunity to see more concretely the prospects for their development and to prepare in good time the conditions for the solution of future problems. This kind of

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planning would help to solve more effectively the problems of technical progress and the upgrading of product assortment, and it would make it possible to increase the role of programmed and goal oriented methods of management. The plan indicators must help to achieve higher end results of economic activity.

This will make it possible to create in the remaining period of the current five-year plan the necessary conditions to make a complete shift to new methods of economic planning in the Eleventh Five-Year-Plan.

Savings, especially those to be derived from the economical use of fuel and energy resources and metal, must play a greater role than before in ensuring balance and proportionality in the development of the national economy. High targets have been set in this area for the Tenth Five-Year Plan; specific indicators have been worked out to reduce the consumption norms for fuel, electrical and thermal energy, metal, cement and forestry products. To achieve these savings we must wage a major campaign against waste in the use of resources; we must also increase product quality in every possible way, improve the service life of goods and improve their useful properties.

In the wake of scientific and technical progress, an active search is being carried out throughout the world for effective substitutes for metal and other building materials which are in short supply. Our industry also needs substitutes, but we do not yet have them in sufficient quantity because of delays in solving these problems by the chemical industry, ferrous metallurgy and by our scientific organizations.

The main trends in the activities of the state apparatus and of our economic organs have been clearly defined by the decisions of the party congresses and the plenums of its Central Committee. These decisions demand high quality work from every Soviet individual.

Higher standards and an increased level of responsibility for assigned work, as well as a high level of organization and systematic monitoring of results, must be the first precepts in our work.

In the government structure high standards and a high level of responsibility must be directed primarily to the quality of drafts of decisions and other documents which the ministries and agencies submit to the government.

Our constitution places urgent new tasks before all of the nation's state organs. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has outlined the range of these tasks in his report and concluding remarks to a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet; they have also been described in the law concerning the procedure for the implementation of the constitution. The very first duty and direct obligation of every communist and of every official employed in the organs of state administration is to contribute in every way

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possible to the steadfast implementation of all articles of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union. The party sees in the constitution a powerful means for the further development of socialist democracy, the further improvement in the style and methods of work by all our state organs--both central and local--including all ministries and departments, institutions and organizations.

The Council of Ministers has started to develop the necessary legal documents which arise from the text of the constitution. A first-rank priority is to prepare in the very near future a draft of the Law Concerning the USSR Council of Ministers and to continue the work to improve the methods of economic management, planning and economic stimulation, as well as the methods for the comprehensive solution of major national, inter-sectorial and territorial problems, plus a number of other issues.

Article 14 of the constitution binds the soviet and economic officials to the achievement of high standards: it says that based on the creative activities of the workers, on socialist competition and on the achievement of scientific and technical progress, the state provides for the growth of labor productivity, for increases in the effectiveness of production and the quality of work, for the dynamic, planned and balanced development of the national economy.

Speaking briefly, we must all check our work very carefully against the high requirements of the Fundamental Law of the state; we must achieve the fulfillment--in the best possible manner--of those challenges presented to us in connection with the adoption of the constitution.

In order to meet these challenges, we must display a creative approach to work, and a high level of persistence and organization. Allow me to express confidence that the employees of the government apparatus will cope successfully with the large amount of forthcoming work.

Comrades! The results achieved in the 60 years since October represent a great feat by the Soviet people, a feat which shall remain forever in the memory of coming generations as a feat begun by the October Revolution.

Under the banner of Great October the heroic Soviet people, led by the experienced Communist Party, is carrying out a gigantic program of social and economic development as outlined for the nation by the 25th party congress.

Only the party, which adheres to positions of creative Marxism-Leninism, could--in the enormous diversity of our own life and international life--single out with confidence everything that is most important and most in line with the needs of our time and could determine on this basis our concrete goals for the building of communism, as well as mobilize the entire strength of the party and the people to achieve them.

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Only the people, who believe profoundly in their party and in the strength of its collective mind, is capable of solving successfully those great problems which face us.

The unity of the party and the people is the source of our invincibility and our firm confidence in the success of the worldwide-historical cause of October, which the great Lenin willed the party and the people to bring to final victory.

Allow me to congratulate you, dear comrades, on the coming holiday and to wish you new creative strength, health and great success in your work for the good of the Soviet people.

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ADDRESS TO A SESSION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET ON 24 FEBRUARY 1978

Comrades!

The new constitution, which was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet in October of last year, puts before the the nation's governmental organs great and urgent tasks. The range of these tasks was outlined by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the party's Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in his report and concluding remarks at a session of the Supreme Soviet; they were also outlined in the law concerning implementation of the new constitution. The party sees in the constitution a powerful means for the further improvement of the style and methods of work by all our state organs--both central and local--including all the ministries and departments, institutions and organizations.

During the discussions of the draft constitution at the special seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the deputies expressed a number of proposals and comments on the most important issues of the activities of state and economic organs, on economic and social development and on the improvement of Soviet legislation.

The USSR Council of Ministers examined the proposals and remarks of the deputies and instructed the ministries and departments, as well as the councils of ministers in the union republics, to adopt the appropriate measures. A system was established to monitor the realization of the proposal and comments.

The ministries and councils of ministers in the union republics have reported to the Council of Ministers concerning the decisions and measures which they have taken, and they have informed the appropriate deputies of the Supreme Soviet.

Information on this issue was sent to the members of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In my talk I will concentrate on certain proposals and comments from the deputies, and I will report on what has been done to realize them in practice.

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The proposals to increase the role of labor collectives and to strengthen labor discipline are of great significance. The state and economic organs have started to devote more attention to these issues. The labor collectives have a growing role to play in the development of democratic principles in production management, in the improvement of educational work in the collectives, in the strengthening of labor discipline and in the further development of socialist emulation. Councils of worker-teachers and schools of communist labor have already been established and are in operation at many enterprises.

At the request of the government the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee on Labor and Social Issues is working with Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance and the AUCCTU on a draft of a decree concerning additional measures to strengthen labor discipline and to reduce the turnover of personnel.

The deputies to the Supreme Soviet introduced proposals concerning improvements in the living, recreational and working conditions and the medical care for women and concerning the expanded construction of children's preschool institutions.

Many of these issues were reflected in the decree recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers "Concerning Measures to Further Improve Health Care for the People." It contains a program of measures aimed at preventing illnesses and at extending the active life of Soviet citizens.

Improvements in the medical care offered to women and children has always been an important state goal in our country. The new decree calls for significant expansion in the network of children's clinics, women's ante-natal clinics, maternity homes and children's hospitals. It also establishes as a target the expansion of the network of sanatoria and holiday homes, where parents and children stay together, and of year-round pioneer camps which function as sanatoria.

As a result of the suggestions made by the deputies, measures are being developed to increase the amount of training for middle level specialists in all sectors of the national economy, as well as to improve the system of vocational guidance for young people.

A response to these problems can be found in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers "Concerning the Further Improvement in the Instruction and Indoctrination of Pupils in General Education Schools and Their Training for Work."

The deputies asked whether it was possible to build agricultural equipment designed for use in particular areas of the country and to satisfy more fully the needs of the kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's for equipment and spare parts.

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In accordance with the decisions of the 25th party congress, agricultural equipment is now being designed with consideration for the soil and climate conditions of the various zones of the country. A new system of machinery for the comprehensive mechanization of work in agricultural production will be created. Measures are being developed to increase the production of spare parts for tractors and agricultural equipment in order to satisfy the demand for these items in the course of one or two years.

As for this year's demand for spare parts, it was specifically considered yesterday at a session of the Politburo, and a decree was adopted on this matter.

In their presentations the deputies talked about the need for more effective environmental protection.

The Central Committee of the party and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a series of decrees aimed at increasing environmental protection. Basic measures to protect nature are now stipulated in the special sections of the plans for the nation's economic and social development. A draft has been prepared of a resolution concerning additional measures to increase environmental protection and to improve the utilization of natural resources.

The Council of Ministers recently discussed reports from ministries and departments and from councils of ministers in the union republics on progress in the realization of the suggestions and comments by deputies of the Supreme Soviet. The work which they have carried out has been approved.

There are, of course, some measures which would require significant material and financial resources for their implementation, proposals, for example, which call for increased environmental protection, accelerated development of productive forces, the introduction of additional benefits for certain categories of workers and pensioners. For this reason the specific issues will be examined when plans are being developed for the main trends in the nation's economic and social development in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and in the long term.

The ministries, departments and Gosplan are beginning to compile the draft of the plan for 1979-1980. Many of the proposals of an economic nature which have been made by the deputies will be discussed along with the plan, and the deputies will be kept informed of the work on the plan.

The Council of Ministers will monitor as necessary the implementation of the proposals and comments by the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies.

As Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has indicated, putting the new constitution into effect presupposes a broad program of legislative activity. It is

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truly great and responsible work which must be carried out here. The legal regulation of various spheres of our life in a way that will be in keeping with social relations under developed socialism will help us to solve more quickly and effectively the grandiose tasks set before the country by the 25th party congress.

We proceed from the premise that all our organs must check their work carefully against the high demands of the state's Fundamental Law and must achieve the fulfillment--in the best possible manner--of those important tasks which have arisen from the adoption of the constitution.

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ADDRESS AT A SESSION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET ON
16 MAY 1978

Respected Leonid Il'ich!
Comrades!

During the work of the eighth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which took place in December of last year, the planning and budget commission and other standing commissions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, as well as deputies to the Supreme Soviet, made a number of proposals and comments on issues of the nation's economic and social development.

On 30 December 1977 the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers made it mandatory for the ministries, departments and councils of ministries of the union republics to consider those proposals and comments concerning themselves which were put forward by the standing commissions and the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and to report to the government, as well as to the appropriate deputies and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning measures which were taken.

In accordance with this request, the proposals and comments of the standing commissions and the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet were considered at collegia of the ministries and departments and at sessions of the councils of ministers of the union republics. Specific resolutions were adopted and measures are being taken to carry them out.

Of course, not all of the problems can be solved immediately. Many would require for their solution significant resources and additional capital investment not called for in the plan for the national economy. However, even in these cases, well-grounded proposals serve our overall cause by exerting a positive influence on the preparation and formulation of the plans for economic and social development in the coming years.

In attempting to provide a general evaluation of how these proposals and comments are being realized, we can note that measures to implement many of the proposals and comments have been reflected in plan targets assigned to enterprises by ministries and departments, as well as in the socialist pledges to fulfill the 1978 plan ahead of schedule.

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I shall use a number of specific examples to illustrate the work which is being carried out; the examples will be drawn from some of the proposals and comments made by the standing commissions and by deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The decisions of the planning and budget commissions contain a proposal to speed up the development and implementation of measures to create the Kansk-Achinsk fuel and energy complex.

The USSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan have worked with the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee on Science and Technology, Gosstroy and other organizations to prepare the drafts of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "Concerning the Establishment of the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex" and the USSR Council of Ministers decree "Concerning the Commencement of Work on the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex."

These drafts call for the following projects to be carried out in the Kansk-Achinsk basin in the years 1978-1990: the renovation of existing open pit coal mines and the preparation of powerful new ones, the establishment of a city of power workers and coal miners and the creation of a base for the construction industry. This will be a major new power center for our country. It will provide energy to industry, agriculture and transportation in Siberia and the Urals.

At a session of the Supreme Soviet proposals were introduced concerning the need to increase the capacity reserves in the nation's energy systems.

The Ministry of Power and Electrification has worked out measures to increase the capacities of electrical power plants by 2 million kilowatts. At the present time capacities have been increased by 1.2 million kilowatts. The remaining 0.8 million kilowatts of capacity will be introduced by this year. Other measures are also being taken.

At the Supreme Soviet session mention was also made of certain delays in the development of the raw materials base for ferrous metallurgy, and proposals have been made on the need to accelerate the development of prospective new deposits.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "Concerning Measures to Further Develop Ferrous Metallurgy in Accordance with the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," which was adopted recently, stipulates a complex of measures to develop the raw materials base of this industry. It calls for preparatory work to be completed in 1979-1980 for the development of major lead and zinc deposits (the Ozernyy, Gorevskiy and Uch-Kulag'skiy deposits), tin deposits (the Deputatskiy and Trudovoy deposits), the Zhirekentskiy molybdenum deposits and the Belozemskiy deposits of rare earth metals.

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Proposals were made concerning the need to overcome in the years 1978-1980 the delays which have been allowed to occur in exploratory oil drilling; as a result the 1978 plan, as well as the projections for 1979-1980, call for a further increase in geological exploration for oil. In 1978, deep exploratory drilling for oil will amount to 110 percent of the 1977 figure, and significant growth is planned for subsequent years.

The planning and budget commissions and the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet have directed their attention to the need to accelerate the work on the designing, testing and production of machinery and equipment for the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production, as well as to speed up delivery to farms of complete units of agricultural equipment essential to mechanize an entire aspect of the work.

At one of its sessions the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers heard a report by Comrade Sinitsyn concerning measures taken by the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building to increase the production and improve the technical level of agricultural equipment which is being produced. The ministry and a number of other departments were given instructions to increase the work which they carry out in this area.

The USSR Council of Ministers has prepared a draft resolution concerning necessary measures to increase production in 1978-1980 and in 1981-1985 of highly-efficient equipment for fodder production and preparation, for the mechanization of work on animal-raising farms, in poultry farming and in the combined fodder and microbiological industry.

At the Supreme Soviet session comments were made concerning the need for a comprehensive solution to the problems of farm development in the new construction regions and the Nechernozem area of the RSFSR.

The 1978 plan contains measures, which have been approved, for the implementation of the comprehensive programs of economic and social development of the Far Eastern and Eastern Siberian economic regions, Krasnoyarskiy Kray and Tyumenskaya Oblast; the indicators have also been approved for the comprehensive development of agriculture and related branches of industry in the Nechernozem area of the RSFSR.

The Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers has recently examined and approved a program of measures on the issues set forth by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in a memorandum and in his recommendations made during his visit to Siberia and the Far East; the issues concern the economic and social development of these regions during the period up to 1990.

There was discussion at the session of unresolved issues in the matter of putting into operation the planned capacities of the Toktogul'skaya GES in Kirgizia.

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At the present time the Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources are carrying out measures to fill the Toktogul'skaya water reservoir to the projected level; this will make it possible to significantly increase the output of electrical energy and at the same time to ease the load of the energy systems of Central Asia. It will also make it possible to improve the irrigation of lands used to grow cotton, rice and other crops.

One of the proposals concerned the strengthening of the material-technical base of the Minpromstroy [USSR Ministry of Building Materials] organizations which are carrying out work in the Karelian ASSR. Specific measures have also been taken on this issue. The necessary material and technical resources (machinery, equipment and vehicles) have been allotted; an additional 1,300 construction workers have been assigned here, and a further development of the actual production base is planned. In 1978 there will be 32 percent more living accommodation for workers than in 1977.

On 21 April the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers examined reports by the USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of the union republics concerning the work which they have carried out to realize the proposals by the standing commissions and deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The resolution adopted on this issue stipulates additional measures and establishes a system for monitoring the fulfillment of the appropriate measures.

During the year the USSR Council of Ministers has repeatedly examined the progress achieved in the fulfillment of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR State Budget. On the basis of the results of these examinations, measures have been adopted to eliminate the existing inadequacies, especially in capital construction, and to ensure the effective utilization of labor, material and financial resources. The attention of the ministries and departments was directed to the need to improve the organizational work on the fulfillment of plan targets and socialist pledges.

The socialist pledges undertaken by the working people to fulfill the 1978 plan ahead of schedule call for extra output worth 4.6 billion rubles and the completion of the year's plan for the realization of production by 27 December.

The USSR Council of Ministers attributes great significance to the correct organization of the work to consider and implement the proposals by the standing commissions and the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in the future they will continue to devote the necessary attention to this work.

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